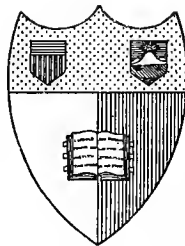




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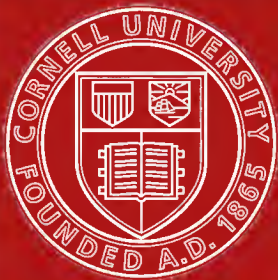
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HISTORY OF MARY STUART.



Votre tres humble & tres obeissante fille

MARIE

HISTORY
OF
MARY STUART,
QUEEN OF SCOTS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL AND UNPUBLISHED MS.

OF
PROFESSOR PETIT,

BY
CHARLES DE FLANDRE, F.S.A. SCOT.,
PROFESSOR OF FRENCH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN EDINBURGH.

“D’aller faire le neutre ou l’indifférent sous prétexte que j’écris une histoire
serait faire au lecteur une illusion trop grossière.” BOSSUET.

“Quand on est malheureux, on n’a pas beaucoup d’amis.”
L’IMPÉRATRICE EUGÉNIE.

VOLUME I.

LONDON: LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO.,

1874.

CORNET
UNIVERSITY
EDINBURGH

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

AFTER more than two years' labour I lay before English readers my translation of Professor Petit's unpublished work. For any inaccuracies in a History so studded with references, I crave indulgence.

A few words regarding the portraits may not be out of place. The one given as frontispiece to the first volume was engraved, at the suggestion of Mr Albert Way, from the miniature, supposed to be by Janet, which is at Windsor Castle, and which, by the gracious permission of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, I have been allowed to copy. The fac-simile of Mary's autograph is from one of the letters in the Balcarres Collection, preserved in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh. The portrait given as frontispiece to the second volume is from the half-testoon of 1562. It was chosen on the recommendation of the author, after a most painstaking search for an authentic portrait. The fac-simile of autograph is from a safe-conduct granted by Mary to Moray in July 1565. The document is in the Register House, Edinburgh.

For most valuable advice in matters of history, and for suggestions as to portraits, autographs, &c., I am much indebted to Mr David Laing, Sir Noël Paton, R.S.A., Mr James Drummond, R.S.A., the Queen's librarian, Mr Richard R. Holmes, and Mr Thomas Dickson of the Register House, Edinburgh. In re-reading my MS. I have had very able assistance from my friend Mr Thomas Armstrong, of Trinity College, Dublin.

I have now merely to add that I trust this work will help to remove all doubt as to the innocence of the much-abused Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots.

CHARLES DE FLANDRE.

EDINBURGH, *October*, 1873.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THIS work appeals to thoughtful men, not to those who read only for pleasure. Of Mary Stuart I assert the innocence which is still a problem to many, notwithstanding the works of early writers, and the learned pages of Chalmers, Miss Strickland, Wiesener, Labanoff, and Hosack. For twenty years M. Mignet in France, Mr Froude in England, and Professor Von Raumer in Germany have swayed the minds of the people, and the few voices raised in Mary's defence have been drowned and lost amid the outcries of her slanderers. Strange it is, but true, that some readers think good taste bids them hold the Queen of Scots guilty. In writing this history, it matters little to me whether the public hold my views or not. I shall be content to have on my side earnest readers who sound the depths of truth in her case. I have done everything in my power to make this book worthy of their attention. For more than ten years I have sought for and read every page on the subject which chance put in my way; I have ransacked the libraries of Paris, London, and Edinburgh, have had very many unpublished letters and manuscripts copied, and I now deliver the work for printing, sure that I have forgotten no weighty documents.

My heartfelt thanks are due to Her Majesty THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE for the encouragement she has kindly given me. I have to thank Mr David Laing, of Edinburgh, for his great kindness. I must own that I put his patience to severe trials, and yet he was not wearied. I have also to acknowledge the good services of M. Charles de Flandre, of Edinburgh; to pay the debt of gratitude due to him gives me much pleasure.

If, in my travels, I have often met with kindness, nowhere have I found more warmth of heart than in Edinburgh. I have a most lively remembrance of my stay in the native land of Mary Stuart.

J. A. PETIT.

ROMESCAMPs, (OISE), FRANCE,
24th June, 1871.

HISTORY OF MARY STUART.

CHAPTER I.

1542—1558.

BIRTH OF MARY STUART—DEATH OF JAMES V.—PROJECTED MARRIAGE OF THE YOUNG QUEEN WITH THE PRINCE OF WALES—STRIFE AMONG THE NOBILITY—THE FRENCH PARTY RISES WITH CARDINAL BEATON—TREASON OF LENNOX—THE TAKING OF EDINBURGH BY THE ENGLISH—RAVAGES IN SCOTLAND—THE REFORMATION—WISHART—HIS DEATH—MURDER OF CARDINAL BEATON—FRESH INVASION—BATTLE OF PINKIE—MARY AT INCHMAHOME MONASTERY—HER SETTING OUT FOR FRANCE—THE WELCOME ACCORDED HER—FIGHTS AND TROUBLES IN SCOTLAND—D'ESSÉ FORTIFIES LEITH—VOYAGE TO FRANCE OF THE QUEEN-MOTHER WHO BECOMES REGENT.

THE unfortunate queen whose life I write, was born in Linlithgow palace on the 11th December 1542.¹ She was the third child of King James V. The first two children, James and Arthur, had died shortly after birth, and the nobles were grieved that the King left but a daughter to succeed him. The tragic and premature end, however, of that young monarch struck the public mind so strongly, that all the love of the people was at once centred in his daughter. The princesses who preceded her had borne the name of Queen, Queen-Regent, or Queen-Mother. Mary was pre-eminently Queen of Scots.

She was barely three days old, when, through the death of her father, the most serious disorders sprang up around her cradle. The nobles contended for the Regency, and did so with all the more rabidness as they knew its duration would be long. Cardinal Beaton, former minister of James V., and the Earl of Arran, the nearest heir to the Crown, had each his party; that of the Cardinal was less numerous but more enterprising; it rested its claim upon a reputed will of King James V. The Earl's party, through its numbers, made up for its want of daring, and was supported by England. The latter party prevailed. The Earl of Arran was elected Regent of Scotland, and

¹ I differ here from the usual opinion in order to adopt that of Miss Strickland—*Lives of Queens of Scotland*, Mary I., 8. That eminent historian has proved beyond a doubt that Mary can have been born only

on the 11th or 12th December. The date of the 11th is given by Nau also, *Queen Mary's secretary*, in the fragment which is left us of his *History of Scotland*.—State Paper Office.

the Cardinal, through the sad changeableness of things, passed from the highest honours to a dungeon in Blackness Castle.

That election was particularly pleasing to Henry VIII. Encouraged by the triumph of his allies, he tried to bring about the union of England and Scotland by the marriage of the Queen and the Prince of Wales. In consequence thereof, Sir Ralph Sadler was sent to Edinburgh with full power; while, to smooth the way for the transaction, Henry VIII. had discharged the Solway Moss prisoners, after having made them promise to speak and act in favour of the alliance.¹ The negotiations were undertaken with ardour. Both sides seemed to have good intentions, and to be full of a sincere love for peace. It was delightful to think that the end of those disastrous wars which the two nations had been waging against each other for a quarter of a century was nigh, and the happy moment wherein that age of peace might dawn, was hailed with joy. Preliminaries so warmly received and so vigorously carried out were broken by the doing of Henry himself. Not satisfied with obtaining for his son such an alliance, he claimed as his right the guardianship of the young Queen, and the occupation of the royal castles during her minority. That unreasonable demand opened the eyes of the Scots. Sir Adam Otterburn protested against what had been done, and brought over to his side those who were still partial to the betrothal of the young Mary and the English prince. "Our nation," said he to the English envoy, "being a stout nation, will never agree to have an Englishman to be King of Scotland; and though the whole nobility of the realm would consent to it, the common people, the women with their distaffs, and the very stones in the street, would rise up and rebell against it."² In the face of that resolution, to yield was the only alternative. As a consummate politician, Henry VIII. seemed outwardly to waive conditions which had given rise to so violent objections; but he did not cease to carry on intrigues with his partisans, his aim being to secure the persons of both Queen and Cardinal.³ He succeeded in regaining even the lost ground, and if he did not gain the ascendancy in Scotland, he made the Scots sign a treaty enacting that Mary should marry Prince Edward, and that she should be led into England at the age of ten years.⁴

¹ Sir John Balfour—*Annales of Scotland*, I., 276, 277; Sanderson's *History*, 10.

² Sir W. Scott—*Biograph. Mem. of Sir Ralph Sadler*, XI.

³ Herries' *Memoirs*, 5.

⁴ "Conventum, concordatum et conclusum est quod, quamprimum dicta illustris Princi-

pissa, Maria, decimum annum ætatis impleverit et undecimum attigerit, statim intra mensem proxime sequentem deducetur in confinia villæ Berwikæ"—*Epist. Reg. Scot. Edin.*, 1724, tom. II. 285; Rymer, *Fœdera Conventiones, &c.*, Hagæ Comitum, VI., iii., 96.

The Scots had scarcely signed the treaty ere they began to dislike it. When they came to reflect coolly upon what they had granted, they soon perceived that the negotiation was entirely to the profit of England. The partisans of Cardinal Beaton were the first to complain, and the people, naturally changeable, began to regret him whom they formerly looked upon as despotic and ambitious. Universal blame was laid upon the Regent. No one took into consideration that he had but followed the opinion of the majority; even those who had wished for the treaty were the first to disapprove of it; they were eager to make the head of the State responsible for the fault which they themselves had counselled. The Cardinal was not the man to neglect taking advantage of the turn of the public mind. Just out of prison, he headed the re-action with a vigour which did not allow his enemies the time to anticipate his blows. With the consent of the Queen-dowager, he assembled the clergy in an extraordinary session and drew a dark picture of the misfortunes which threatened Scotland: liberty compromised, the old religion sorely assailed, the country hurled into ruin by that ignominious treaty; thus he carefully stirred up the smouldering hatred which existed between the two nations and succeeded in inflaming even the most lukewarm.¹

The eloquence of the former minister, backed by the gold of the clergy, suddenly turned public opinion towards France. Two very distinct parties were formed in Scotland: the one, with the Regent, supported the English alliance and advised its policy; the other, grouped around the Cardinal and the Queen-dowager, trusted to the old alliance which had always united Scotland to France, to break the treaty and marry the young Queen to some French Prince. As the mass is usually fond of boldness in undertaking and swiftness in doing, and as it bears within itself an exhaustless fund of patriotism, it sided of its own accord, and quite naturally, with France. To the latter party Argyll, Huntly and Bothwell, lent their names and their influence. The first effect of that popular movement was to delay the sending of the hostages, and the pretext that Henry had meanwhile seized several Scottish vessels, was laid hold of in order to break with England. The English ambassador was publicly insulted, and the treaty of marriage was set aside by a decree of Parliament.²

Days of indecision followed hard upon that first outburst of patriotic zeal. Fears were entertained lest Henry VIII., angered by the

¹ Buchanan, XV. 6; Spottiswoode, edit. 1851, I. 144.

² Epist. Reg. Scot., II. 311.

cancelling of the treaty, and by the slight offered to his representative, might seek an unheard-of vengeance. France alone could help Scotland out of the difficulty. All looked for support from that quarter. The Scottish prayer re-echoed throughout France. Noble hearts were moved. The Scots who were in the French service, or who resided in the country, had already set out with the Earl of Lennox, laden with good wishes and with promises; their presence had sufficed to make Cardinal Beaton's party triumph; but as the difficulties increased, promises were no longer enough: deeds were wanted. Francis I. did not draw back; he sent to Scotland a fleet mounting fifty guns and therewith ten thousand crowns.¹ That contingent of men and money, entrusted to Lennox with the view of helping the Queen-Dowager, brought about quite another result, owing to the treason of the Earl.

Lennox had come to Scotland not solely with the wish to fight for Mary of Lorraine; he had dreamt of reaping honours. The Cardinal had led him to expect them as long as his rivalry with Arran lasted. He had advised him to claim, as first prince of the blood, even the guardianship of the young Queen, to the exclusion of the Earl of Arran whose legitimacy was doubtful,² and Lennox, proud of that support, had flattered himself that he should soon be, through influence, what he was already by blood, namely: one of the first men in Scotland. The reconciliation of the Earl of Arran with the Cardinal, his conversion to Catholicism, which was, as it were, its guarantee, did away with the services which might be expected from Lennox, and caused the promises to be forgotten. The ambitious lord was overlooked. When little Mary was taken from Linlithgow to Stirling he came to the coronation, perhaps hoping to have the promises realised; instead of that, however, he saw obscure nobles preferred to him.³ He held during the whole ceremony a secondary position made all the more mortifying by the barren honours which he had previously obtained. Lennox understood that he had been played upon, and without waiting longer, conceiving a like hatred for Queen, Regent, and Cardinal, he disowned all parties in Scotland, and threw himself headlong into the ranks of the enemies of his country. His going over to the English side gave rise to great rejoicings: he was received as an illustrious convert, a deserter from the old cause, a fervent proselyte of the new; as a man having the power to render triumphant those whom

¹ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 28.

² *Herries' Memoirs*, 5.

³ *Joan. Leslæus. De origine, moribus et rebus gestis Scotorum*, Rome 1578, 466.

he should support. At that very moment the French assistance arrived. Filled with anger, Lennox hurriedly raised an army with the money which he had just acquired in a way so unhopèd for, and advanced towards Edinburgh. That sudden move frightened the Regent beyond measure, as his forces were badly organised, scattered, and unreliable. The issue of a battle fought under such circumstances was hardly doubtful. Conscious of his weakness, he left to the Cardinal the care of checking the rebellion. The latter, instead of seeking to stay the revolt by exciting fear, entered into a parley with the Earl of Lennox and protracted the negotiation so well that the rebellious army was obliged to disperse for want of provisions. That failure ruined Lennox and lost him his popularity. He took his revenge by driving Henry VIII. to undertake that untoward campaign which gave so melancholy a beginning to the year 1544.

The preparations for it had been made during the winter. The first fine weather saw the Earl of Hertford, with about ten thousand men, hurriedly put to sea, sail for Scotland, and insist on the young Queen being forthwith given into his charge. Finding that the Scots turned a deaf ear to his request, he landed and marched quickly on Edinburgh, after having cut through a small body of men who were trying to stop his way. The town was taken, given up to the fury of pillage for four days, then burnt. As the Regent was advancing at the head of a numerous army to give battle, Hertford was obliged to retreat, before superior forces should come to prevent him doing so. He ravaged all the country in the direction of Leith, burnt that town, and re-embarking, wasted with fire and sword the banks of the Forth, while the land force under the orders of Evers, burnt Seton, Haddington and Dunbar, and withdrew quietly into England, with immense booty. If ravaging the country gave pleasure to Henry VIII., then that monarch must have been happy, but by that cruel war Henry was rendered odious to Scotsmen, who all drew nearer to the throne; the Douglasses, for a long time allies of England, returned to their allegiance, and Lennox was shamefully driven away just as he was going to hand over to King Henry the fortified castle of Dunbarton. An act of parliament declared him traitor to the nation, and pronounced against him a sentence of forfeiture.* That is what Henry VIII. reaped

¹ *Epistolæ Regum Scot.*, app. xviii. In the *Négociations relatives au règne de François II.*, is found a curious memoir addressed to the king by J. Makgill, clerk of register, and

J. Bellenden, Justice Clerk, which gives a very concise account of the customs and of the laws of Scotland before 1559. It says: *En l'acte et ordonnance iii. de Parlement fait par le feu*

from his "rough courtship," as the Earl of Huntley called that expedition.¹

The rest of the struggle was but a series of robberies, murders, and partial defeats,—the one side plundering the other. The incursion of Ralph Evers and Bryan Layton, and their defeat at Ancrum, are the only facts of importance.

At the very time that Scotland fought nobly against an enemy who sought to cut into her territory, and rob her of her freedom, she was internally harrowed by the underhand and progressive march of Protestantism. There, as in the other countries of Europe, Luther's fervid and impassioned language had awakened an echo. Henry VIII., whose whole interest, after his apostasy, was to convert Scotland to the new creed, used all efforts, and spent large sums of money to succeed in his designs. He was ere long looked upon as a saviour by the Protestants, and in 1543 they wrote him a long letter entreating him to invade Scotland, and unite the two kingdoms under one sceptre and one faith.²

The enmities which separated the Scottish nobles had singularly befriended the introduction of Protestantism. That two families were rivals was sufficient cause for each having a different faith. In religion, ambitious houses sought a stepping-stone, and ruined houses thought it might be for them a prop against their fall. Beaton strove in vain against that general tendency: the Reformation gained ground day by day. Preachers rose on all sides, and in great numbers; their language, their bearing, their outward appearance, their whole person was stamped with exaggeration. The people, as yet little civilised, saw grandeur in it, and believed their mighty pretensions to be greatness of mind. George Wishart, the first who was truly celebrated, had been driven into England as soon as he made his appearance. He bore with him into exile a deadly hatred against the Cardinal, and formed with the Laird of Brunton, Henry VIII. consenting, the scheme of killing him whom he looked upon as the scourge of his religion. Having

roy Jacques, premier de ce nom, et ès actes xxv. and xxvi. dudit roy, est déclaré et déterminé que si aulcun manifestement ou (et) notoirement (se) rebelle contre le roy il encourt *la peyne de forfaiture, qui est perte de ses vie, terres, héritages et biens quelconque*, 258, in the unpublished Documents of the History of France.

¹ Journal of the expedition of the Earl of

Hertford into Scotland, Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary, 3; Diurnal of Occurrences 31, sq. The late expedition in Scotland under the conduit of R. H. the Erle of Hertford, reprint of the London edition, 1544, 10, 11. Balfour, I. 280, 282. Hayne's collection of State papers, 43, sq.

² Bannat. Miscel., I. 7-18.

gone back to Scotland, he continued to preach with a fervour which drew forth frantic applause. Dundee was the scene of his zeal. Every day, and several times a-day, the people assembled to hear him. The magistrates of the town got alarmed, and dreading some mishap, forbade his preaching within their jurisdiction. Notice was given him to that effect, while he was speaking in the public square. On hearing that order he stood for a moment thoughtful, then raising his eyes to heaven, he stretched out his hand over the town, after the example of the Jewish prophets, and loaded the district with the most awful curses. On his leaving, many of the people followed him for some distance, begging him to come back. Wishart would not give way. Lord Marshall and several other Protestant gentlemen offered him, with as little avail, a refuge on their estates. Dundee having been visited with an epidemic shortly after, the vulgar fancied that it was the effect of Wishart's curses. Many fanatics asserted that the evil would cease only on the return of God's martyr. Wishart, informed of those circumstances by his disciples, hurried back to Dundee. He began his ministrations in the outskirts of the town, and took advantage of the plague to prove his divine mission.

Beaton, all patience at an end, made up his mind to use foul means. A first attempt to seize Wishart's person having failed, he was put on the alert, and never after showed face at his church without a squad of his most trusty followers. That watchfulness did not, however, hinder Bothwell from laying hold of him, and handing him over to the Cardinal.¹ The preacher was questioned, tried and sentenced to be burned. He underwent the torture with great courage. By way of caution the Cardinal had deemed it good to see the execution with his own eyes, lest the condemned one might escape. Wishart noticed him, and looking upon his enemy's step as a bravado, he gave way to his wrath, and foretold that ere long Beaton, at the very spot of his triumph, should be cast down and humbled, and should end his life in shame. The devotees of the new sect welcomed with prayers the last words of their father, and long quoted them bitterly in order to bear witness to his sanctity. Any man who may stand somewhat aloof from those popular prejudices, and who may besides be acquainted with the mission which Wishart fulfilled to Henry VIII., will see in it nothing but the avowal of a conspiracy, and will acknowledge with a Protestant

¹ Act obliging Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, to deliver up to my Lord Governor, Mr George Wishart. Epist. Reg. Scot., app. xx.

historian, that Wishart died, not as a prophet, but as a conspirator who reveals the secret.¹

That conspiracy thus prophesied by a fanatic at the stake, was nevertheless fully accomplished. Two months after the death of Wishart, the devotees, "urged on by the Lord," made up their minds to murder the Cardinal. The time was well suited. Part of St Andrews Castle was being rebuilt, and the rest was being repaired; one of the doors remained open every night for the coming of the workmen; it was taken possession of at the dawn of day; the workmen and hirelings who dwelt inside were sent away, and the victim was thus isolated. All that was not done without noise. The prelate, scared, and dreading foul play, had shut himself up in his room. When the murderers reached his door they found it barred. Called upon to open, he refused; but seeing that the invaders were making ready to burn him in his room if he persisted in remaining locked up, and that on the contrary, they pledged themselves to spare his life if he put himself into their hands, he withdrew the bolts. No sooner had he done so than two of the butchers, sword in hand, rushed upon him. They would have slain him on the spot, had they not been stopped by Melville, who exclaimed: "This work and judgment of God, although it be secret, yet ought to be done with greater gravity."² Then turning the point of his sword towards the Cardinal: "Repent thee," said he to him, "of thine former wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of God, Mr George Wishart, which albeit the flame of fire consumed before men, yet cries it a vengeance upon thee, and we from God are sent to revenge it; for here before my

¹ Dempster says, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 598, "that Wyshart *being in the plot to take the Cardinal's life*, might easily foretel his death." Quotation from Chalmers, *The life of Mary*, III., 339, note u., edit. 1822. Knox, *Hist. of Reform.*, i. 44, 51-59. Spottiswoode I. 150-162. M'Kenzie, *Writers of the Scots Nation*, III. 13-17. Tytler (*History of Scotland*, edit. 1864, III. 22) treats Wishart as a vulgar conspirator; Keith looks upon his prophecies as *ridiculous* things, 42; Stevenson in his *History of the Church and State of Ref. in Scotland*, writes seriously: "He was endued with many extraordinary graces, particularly with the spirit of prophecy." Introduction, 32. MacGavin, in his edition of the *History of Knox*, endeavours to prove the contrary: both in the interest of religion. Several Protestants

towards that period underwent death with heroic constancy, and I cannot help admiring the early Scottish reformers, Knox, however, excepted. It is a pity that so much energy has been wasted in so bad a cause. "Multi hæretici," says St Augustine, "nomine Christiano animas decipientes, multa talia patiuntur sed ideo excluduntur ab istâ mercede, quia non dictum est tantum. Beati, qui persecutionem patiuntur, sed additum est, Propter justiciam." St. Aug. Serm. Dni. in Monte, lib. i. Certain things are said of the Scottish martyr which might liken him not a little to Montanus: "Quocumque iter faceret secum aliquot mulieres circumducebat. . . . erat enim magus." *Davidis Camerarii De Scotorum fortitudine*. Paris, 1631, 276.

² Knox, *History of Reform.*, i., 61.

God, I protest, that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, or the fear of any trouble thou couldst have done to me in particular, moved, or moveth me to strike thee; but only because thou hast been, and remainest, an obstinate enemy to Christ Jesus and his holy evangel." Having said those words, he several times pierced with his sword the Cardinal, who fell dead at his feet.

The servants meanwhile had given the alarm. At once, all the inhabitants rose and ran to the castle, with arms of all kinds, to save the Archbishop. "What have you done with my lord Cardinal?" cried they to the conspirators; "Where is he?" "We wish to see my lord Cardinal." "The best thing you can do," replied the assassins, "is to return to your homes, for the man whom you call the Cardinal has had his due reward, and shall not again trouble the universe with his person." Those jeering words roused the multitude, "We shall not go until we have seen him," cried they on all sides. Then the murderers, adding insult to injury, dragged along the bleeding corpse of the Cardinal, and hung it up at the window. At the sight of that, says Knox, with a coarsely cheerful expression, "they went their way without reciting a *Requiem æternam* or a *requiescat in pace*, for the repose of his soul." That crime was rejoiced at among the innovators, as much as was the murder of Holophernes among the Jews.¹

Those internal struggles which stirred up Scotland left England quite at rest, and the English cabinet busily followed up its alliance scheme. The murder of the Cardinal seemed to herald a new era. On the death of Henry VIII., the Earl of Hertford, having been made Protector, and created Duke of Somerset, lost no time in communicating with the murderers. He was not ashamed to place them on the footing of a power, and treat with them as with a state, although he knew them to be deprived of their civil rights.² On the 9th and

¹ Knox, Reform., I. 60-62. Keith's Church Hist., 43. Gilbert Stuart, Hist. of Reform. 60-63. Hollinshed's Chronicles, II. 231-232. Buchanan, Rerum Scot., lib. xv. 40, 41. Mackenzie, Writers, &c., III. 26. Memoirs of family of Stuarts, 123. Spottiswoode, I. 163-165. "John Knox, says the French editor of Hume the historian, calls James Melvil the gentlest and most modest of men. It is horrid, but at same time curious to con over the joy, the glee, the rapture which that historian seems to feel in relating that assassination. In the first edition of his work the following words were printed on the margin: 'The Godly fact

and woordis of James Melven.' Later editors suppressed them." Hume, History of the House of Tudor, III. 144, note. Calderwood also says, in his "True history of the Church," that "the Lord had stirred up some men of courage to cut him off." Introduction, 2. "This act," writes the abridger of Lord Herries, "was highlie commended by all those of the reformed religion, who (as the original says) did congratulatt, and feasted amongst themselves," 16. See also the "Historical remarks on the assassination of Cardinal Beaton," Tytler, III., app., 365, sq.

² Epist. Reg. Scot., II. 344, 347, 349.

the 11th of March 1547, he concluded with them two treaties. By the first they bound themselves to further with all their might the marriage of Mary with young Edward VI., and never to give up St Andrews Castle to a Scotsman during the minority of the Queen. The second bore upon their footing with England, whose policy they were to serve, and whose army they were to keep up.¹ Those treaties, to ensure success, were to be kept hidden; the utmost secrecy was required to allow the scheme to ripen without endangering its success. Very luckily for Scotland the Regent was warned of those plots laid in darkness. He heard also of the great war preparations that the Protector was making: the plot explained the preparations, and the preparations bore out the plot. In the face of that danger, as nigh as it was awful, the Regent evinced a courage until then unknown in him. He ordered the sheriffs and commanders of strongholds to keep horses fully in readiness, so as to make known without delay the approach of the English army, and the direction which it should take. If the attack took place landwards at night, large fires were to be kindled at intervals, chiefly on the heights; and along the coast, if by the sea, so as to put the people on the alert, and give them time to resist. Another decree forbade the inhabitants of town or country to leave their dwellings or to carry elsewhere their goods or riches, the common cause of dread and trouble, under pain of confiscation and severe chastisement. He then called for a general rising, waving, from one end of Scotland to the other, the Fiery Cross, a black-edged oriflamb whose white ground was checkered with red spots. All those from sixteen to sixty, who could bear arms, were obliged to join the rising under pain of death. A proclamation fixed Musselburgh as the meeting place, and summoned all to repair thither within forty days, with arms and provisions.²

While his immense army was being recruited, the Regent tried to prevent the English bands from making inroads on the borders of Scotland; the arrival of Léon Strozzi, with help from France, called him back to Edinburgh, to bethink himself of the means to save the country. The murderers of Cardinal Beaton were first challenged. St Andrews Castle was besieged, and, after a bold stand, taken and razed to the ground.³

Late in August, the Duke of Somerset marched forward at the head

¹ Rymer, *Acta publica, Fœdera* VI., iii., 150, 151, and 155.

² *Epist. Reg. Scot.*, app. xlii., xliii.

³ Balfour's *Annales*, I. 287. Spottiswoode, I. 173. *Memoirs of Kirkaldy*, 42, sq.

of about twenty thousand men ;¹ he crossed the Tweed and made for Edinburgh. The fleet, under Admiral Clinton's orders, numbered about thirty galleys and as many transport ships. It was to act in conjunction with the land forces, and give them help in case of need. The Scottish army reckoned about thirty thousand good troops ; it was well equipped and full of spirit : the Regent had led it to trust in an early and splendid success.

Before putting it to the arbitrament of the sword, the Duke of Somerset endeavoured to use the power of reason on the Scots, and make them share his views. He issued a manifesto stating that nature had formed the island for one single empire ; that, cut off from all communication with foreign states, and girt by the sea, nature had pointed out to its inhabitants the path of happiness and security ; that the education and the customs of the people seemed to have an understanding with nature ; that, having the same language, the same laws, and the same manners, one might expect them to live under the same government ; that fortune had removed all obstacles and prepared an expedient by which they might enrol themselves under one banner ; that there would then be no grounds for the jealousy, as regards honour or interest, to which two rival nations are usually so much exposed ; that the crown of Scotland had descended to a princess and that of England to a prince ; that luckily these two sovereigns suited one another in rank and age ; that the enmity which had been kindled between the two nations by past injuries, would be extinguished as soon as a solid and lasting peace had on both sides inspired confidence ; that the remembrance of their first misfortunes, which now embittered their mutual hatred, would serve only to make them the more cherish a state of happiness and quiet so long unknown to their forefathers ; that when hostilities had ceased, the Scottish nobility, in place of being perpetually at war as they always had been, would learn to cultivate the arts of peace and soften down their nature into a love of homely order and quiet ; that such a state of things was desirable for both kingdoms, but above all for Scotland, which had been desolated by foreign and internal wars, and had run the risk of losing her freedom through

¹ Tytler the historian reckons 14,200 men. According to Patten's account : " The English force," says he, " consisted in all of fourteen thousand two hundred men, of which four thousand were men-at-arms and demi-lances, two thousand light horse, and two hundred Spanish Carabineers mounted. The remaining eight thou-

sand were footmen and pioneers," iii. 56. Patten's account, loc. cit. in Tytler, gives a larger number. He allows the Duke of Somerset 4000 men, the Earl of Warwick 3000, Lord Dacres 3000, Sir Francis Bryan 2000, Sir Ralph Evers 4000, John Bren 1400, etc. Dalryel's *Fragments of Scottish History*, par. iv., 26.

the efforts of her richest or most powerful inhabitant: that England, while claiming her right of superiority, was not averse to waive her claims in favour of future peace: that an indissoluble union must be concluded upon quite equal conditions; in short, that apart from all these motives a positive engagement had been entered into to bring about this alliance, and that the honour and good faith of the nation bound it to keep promises which its interest and security imperatively required it to fulfil. Those reasons, not altogether unjust, were set aside, and war became unavoidable. The Earl of Arran, warned of Somerset's approach, entrenched himself on a rising ground near Musselburgh, and ordered a body of cavalry to scour the neighbourhood and annoy the English. The damage done by those nomad troops was so much the more vexatious to Somerset as it was unforeseen, and as Arran's men avoided, by flight, all serious engagements. The English general could protect himself only by copying the tactics of his opponents, and by ordering his cavalry to attack them, no matter where. They met in the field of Falside, with heavy losses on both sides, especially on that of the Scots. That success increased the courage of the English without lessening the intrepidity of their foes. Somerset shared the joy of his men and thanked his cavalry. He exhorted his soldiers to show the same ardour in the general battle soon to be fought.

Although the Protector, as if sure of victory, seemed cool and collected in the face of his army, he was really a prey to the most painful anxiety. Spies had informed him how strongly his enemy's camp was fortified; how the position, number and spirits of the Scots made them almost sure of victory. Somerset, knowing how much reports are usually exaggerated, and how little faith can be put in accounts which fear and hurry equally tend to pervert, thought it would not be safe for him to act until he himself had examined the Scottish army. Together with the Earl of Warwick he devoted himself to that risky business, and was thus enabled to convince himself that the statements of his scouts were true. The situation of the English army was becoming precarious; their provisions would be exhausted before those of the Scots, and it was difficult to revictual in a hostile country; if the Regent's army kept its position until attacked, it would be necessary sooner or later to wage a battle, the issue of which did not seem doubtful. As the Earl of Huntly had formerly proposed to him to settle the dispute by pitting twenty men against twenty, or ten against ten, so as to avoid bloodshed, the Protector, after that comparatively peaceful offer, judged it not unworthy of him to think of coming to terms. He

therefore sent the Earl of Arran a letter in which he proposed to withdraw from the kingdom, and to make good the injury done by his army, provided the Scots promised not to give their Queen to any foreign prince, but to allow her to choose a husband for herself when she reached the age of discretion.

That letter, which will always bring credit upon Somerset's memory, seemed so moderate that the Scots suspected a ruse and threw it aside. The sad result was to lead them to believe that the English forces were exhausted, and that they sought to spare themselves the shame of a defeat by concealing flight under cover of a treaty. That mad idea brought about the ruin of those who stupidly conceived it, for Somerset turned off towards the sea with the view of falling back upon the fleet, and the Scots fancying he was retreating, went down into the field, crossed the Esk, and drew themselves up in battle array. Down the marshes by the river, Angus led the vanguard and the Regent the main body; the rear guard was under Huntly's orders. Four thousand archers, from the Highlands and Ireland, in the following of Argyll, shielded the right. Thus arranged, the Scottish army pushed on along the shore with the view of taking Pinkie Hill, occupying the ground around St Michael's Church, and crushing the English force. They had not time enough. Passing in front of the fleet, the Scots had to run the gauntlet of a most deadly fire, the vanguard faring worst; the English cannon made enormous breaches in their ranks, and the rest of the army dared not advance. The Highlanders, as yet little civilised, knew artillery only from hearsay; they stuck to the cross-bows of their fathers. Terrified by the cannon, they could neither go forward nor go back. While they wavered, the English horse rushed upon them full speed, and not a soul could have escaped, had not the newly ploughed, and, in some places, miry and impracticable ground broken the charge of the cavalry. The sudden attack of the horsemen restored courage to the Scots; they had before them a foe to overthrow, and were no longer exposed to the ravages of artillery. They fell furiously on their enemies, and scattered them, the leader of the English, Lord Grey, being badly wounded. Had the Scots had horses enough, it was all over with the English; but that help failed them, and Lord Grey was enabled to get behind the closely wedged masses of foot and rally his cavalry who were in disorder.

Before giving Angus time to look about him, Warwick sent against him a large body of archers and fusiliers. The galling fire of the musketry, with a shower of arrows and the guns of the galleys, told

greatly, but the gaps were at once filled up: the Scottish stubbornness wearied the guns. On a signal from Somerset a battery placed on the heights began to play on them. It poured on the front of the Scottish army. The firing from the vessels slackened for a moment, then burst out violently. The Scots, caught at once in front and flank, fell terror-stricken in whole columns. The position was no longer tenable. The Earl of Angus ordered his men to take an oblique direction, and to go and support the centre which the Regent commanded in person. The swiftness with which that evolution was executed led the Scottish army to believe that the vanguard was routed. Fright seized upon the ranks, and the whole army fled in disorder. The English cavalry, which had had time to re-form at the foot of the hill, chased the fugitives, drove them into the Esk, and did great havock. That was on the 10th of September 1547.

That spot, where Scottish blood was again to be shed one century later for its kings, is now very much changed. In that same place where the war-cry resounded and where blood was spilt in torrents, there now extend fruitful orchards studded with peaceful cottages; the old church of St Michael has crumbled away; the old hill still stands, but, instead of threatening the neighbourhood, it enhances its beauty. When, from the top, one looks down upon the Esk flowing through the willows and the green swards, and past Fisherrow, till it falls into the Forth, it is hard to picture to one's self the horrors of war on a soil so well fitted for husbandry.¹

Two days before Somerset had, against all hope, gained that glorious victory, the Earl of Lennox, who had gone over to the enemy, and Lord Warton entered Scotland by the West Marches, at the head of five thousand foot soldiers and eight hundred horse. On the 20th, they had taken Annan, after a bold struggle, and lorded it over the country lying round about. Scotland was lost, had not the fear of being supplanted at court driven the Duke of Somerset to return hurriedly to London, after garrisoning Broughty Castle.²

Those baneful strifes had disheartened the nation; they believed they had all to fear from the English; the scared people shared the pangs of those who ruled them: Chancellor Huntly was a prisoner, the most powerful lords had been killed, and the Regent was rallying, as

¹ Patten's Expedition into Scotland under the Duke of Somerset, forming the IV. part of Dalrymple's Fragments of Scottish History. The battle of Musselborough, Teulet., Négociations relatives à l'Ecosse au XVI^e. Siècle,

I. 124-158. Sir John Hayward, Kennet II. and De Thou, Edit. varior. app. au liv. iii. Buchanan, XV. 44-51.

² Holinshed, II. 241.

best he could, the remains of his fine army. Lest matters should turn out still worse, little Mary was carried from Stirling Castle to the Monastery of Inchmahome, which stands in the lake of Menteith, one of the wildest districts in Scotland. The child took with her four little girls of her own age, who, being of the same name, were called the four Marys. Far from turmoil the little colony gave itself up to play and to study. Their unvarying walks have remained legendary; there is still shown on the edge of the lake a hawthorn, under whose branches the merry band liked to come and rest after gambolling over the heather and the rocks. On getting back to the monastery, they were taught Latin and modern languages, and initiated early into the habits of society. The poor artless children little dreamt that they were the cause of the misfortunes which laid their country waste, and that while play was all their thought, the whole world was taken up with their future.¹

In the difficulties of his position the Regent put on a bolder front than might have been expected from his nature. The defeat of his army had not unmanned him; in his belief the mischief could yet be repaired. He therefore caused the much-coveted hand of the young Queen to be offered to the King of France in exchange for aid. The offer was accepted, and André de Montalembert, Seigneur d'Essé, was sent to Scotland with six thousand men and artillery.² That relief came quite opportunely. The Regent had spent three months before Broughty Castle, without being able to take it. Luckier than he, the English had laid hold of Haddington Castle, had strengthened themselves there, and made it the starting point for their plundering. Lauder Castle had also given in. So low-spirited were the Scots that five hundred English horsemen were allowed to scour the country without hindrance, and to carry their inroads even to the gates of Edinburgh. The commander of the French forces found it somewhat hard to infuse fresh courage into those whom he came to succour. After some delay, brought about by the wavering state of the public mind, he and the Earl of Arran bent their steps towards Haddington.³

Here Mary's betrothal was entered on.⁴ The Scots resolved

¹ Conæus Jebb. Bell, 44. Chalmers, I. 5. Strickland, I. 21, 22.

² *Les Vies de plusieurs grands Capitaines François*, par M. de Pavie, Baron de Forquenauls, feuillet 320. "Please it your lordship to be advertised that there be Fraunche galleys and other shippes of Fraunce at Leight, and hath set a land v. or vj. ml. men, whiche men be Italians and Gascans and of al other

gatheryns, brave soldiours and ware lyke, and they make very great braggess."—Boyvyll to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Stevenson's illustrations, 24.

³ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 45. Spottiswoode, I. 176.

⁴ *The Queen Dowager of Scotland to the Duc d'Aumale*, 6th July. Teulet, I. 179.

to cast aside the English alliance; they owed that nation too great a grudge to hand over to it the daughter of James V., as well as the sovereignty of Scotland. The battle of Pinkie was by no means forgotten, and "that way of wooing" the young Queen nettled the Scottish mind. The French wished Mary to be sent to France at once. They based their claim upon reasons which they deemed the best: the lasting alliance of the two peoples would be drawn closer; French help would ever be at hand; Scotland would retain her laws, manners, customs and freedom. The Queen Dowager headed that party. The Scottish Protestants took quite another view. In their opinion, the French alliance would bring on a long war with England; thence endless mishaps and wretchedness: the English would have to be driven back, the French to be kept up and borne with; the national self-love would be wounded, the noblest of the Scots thrown back into the second rank, and often bound to lavish their cares upon foreigners, at times too hard to please. The Regent sided now with the one, and then with the other, just as it suited his purpose. Henry II. bought him over by giving him an estate worth 12,000 livres a-year and the title of Duke of Chatelleraut. From that moment he openly stood by France, foreseeing that the English would tire of the war on losing the hope of getting the Queen. Her departure was fixed upon.¹

Mary Stuart's political life was begun. No one thenceforward was to remain heedless of her destiny; her lot was to excite around her very opposite passions. The English and the Scots had fought desperately over her cradle; the struggle was about to be prolonged, and till the end of her life, even when war shall have ceased, Mary will be pursued by the brutal policy of jealous neighbours. Her setting out for France was not free from danger. The Protector, aware of the Scottish underhand dealing, had sent several vessels to seize the Princess, and it was only by a manœuvre that Admiral de Villegagnon and his four galliots managed to elude them. On leaving the Forth he steered as if for France, but scarcely was he out of sight when he changed his route, made for the north, rounded the Orkneys, and cast anchor at the foot of Dunbarton Castle. The spies were put off their scent, and while Villegagnon was believed to be in his own country, and little Mary to be safe at Dunbarton, whither she had been taken, the same ship carried them quietly towards the French shores.² In order that the

¹ Burnet, *History of Reform.*, i., vol. I. 198.

² *Histoire de la Guerre d'Escoffe.* Jan de Beaugué. Maitland Club reprint, chap. xj., 29, 30.

pangs of separation and exile might be lightened for the child, her mother had given her as companions the four Marys and eight other young girls of the same age,¹ so that Mary found on board and abroad something of a homely atmosphere. The flotilla, after a stormy passage, touched Roscoff at Morlaix point, on the 20th of August.

Mary, on landing, was made the object of assiduous care. In honour of her, they set free the chief criminals who had groaned in the State prisons, in some cases, for many a day, and often, for the suspected crime of treason or heresy.² At St. Germain, the princes and princesses surrounded the child, lavishing thousands of caresses upon her, and cheering her to their utmost. The King, then absent, had written to M. de Humières not to go out of the way before the arrival of the young Queen. In a few days Mary was as free in France as she had been in Scotland.³

She was at St Germain while the English fleet was still looking out for her at sea. The English admiral was amazed to learn how, and at what risk Villegagnon had been able to escape. After that, he no longer needed to cruise about; he neared the coast, and landed in Fife-shire; driven back with loss by James Stewart, he re-embarked hurriedly, and sailed for Montrose, where he lost two-thirds of his followers.

Although less lucky at Haddington,⁴ the French and Scots elsewhere gained some important advantages. As the strong position of the place rendered the storming of it impossible, a regular siege was necessary. It was carried on vigorously, and the citadel was soon invested.⁵ Sir Robert Bowes and Thomas Palmer, who were in the field from the beginning of the operations, conceived the bold idea of marching against the besiegers, overthrowing them, and entering the castle with provisions, before the French could send reinforcements. They were themselves taken by surprise, and massacred. The honour of that day was gained by Count d'Andelot.⁶ Several other attempts to raise the blockade of the castle succeeded no better. The Highlanders did wonders; bare-footed, ill fed, badly clad and poorly armed, they everywhere caused more annoyance to the English than did the rest of

¹ Balfour's *Annales* I. 292.

² Ribier, *Mémoires et Lettres d'Etat*, Miss Benger I. 121.

³ Miss Strickland I. 27.

⁴ D'Oysel to the Duke d' Aumale, 6th July. Teulet I. 180.

⁵ "Avons tellement et de si près assiégés les enemys que, depuis le premier jour, ilz n'ont jamais osé faire sortye sur nous; et sy sont nos tranchées à quatre pas près du fossé.

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Ilz sont deux milles hommes de guerre dedans et troys cens chevaulx." D'Essé to the Duke d'Aumale, 6th July. Teulet, I. 182.

⁶ Beaugué, 43, sq.—"On n'a jamais vu de soldatz plus déterminez qu'estoit celuy-cy (d'Andelot) lorsqu'il en fesoit profession." Henry Second, ou les choses les plus mémorables arrivées sous son Reygne, 15, recto MS. Biblioth. de Rouen, U. 121. Hollinshed's *Cronicles* II. 247.

the allied troops. They were everywhere; they guarded against surprise, and raised the alarm in an instant. The swiftness of their movements is almost beyond belief; they outstripped even the best mounted cavalry. Some of those sturdy mountaineers were seen to take advantage of the sorties from the garrison, rush on the soldiers, seize them, and carry them off. One of them gave a singular instance of steadfastness by allowing his neck to be bitten and torn, rather than let go his hold. Such behaviour made an impression on the troops, and d'Essé rewarded it handsomely.¹

Those daily scuffles brought about no definite result; they were but a series of small fights wherein victories and repulses were balanced. The situation seemed always the same, only discipline became more lax, and success on the French side was more rare and less signal. The soldiers had become plunderers; after having welcomed them as deliverers, the Scots now looked upon them as foes. The swaggering airs which they had on their arrival in Scotland, put up with for a time through necessity, were now the object of general scorn, and, when in a hot engagement the French got the worst of it, the Scots, without heeding the paltry successes which they had themselves achieved, rejoiced that their defenders should have got "so sound a drubbing."² D'Essé also was less watchful. The English, to the number of three hundred, managed to enter the place. That help allowed the resistance to be carried on until the arrival of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was marching forward at the head of seventeen thousand men.³ The allied army withdrew at his approach. The Earl poured men and assistance into the town, and then began to pursue the French towards Edinburgh, where he found them advantageously posted. He did not deem it right to attack them, but, retracing his steps, returned to England without any other advantage than that of having relieved Haddington.

An unfortunate accident nearly put an end to the little harmony which still existed between the Scots and French. On his return from his expedition, d'Essé wished to give his men some rest, perhaps even to put them into winter quarters. It was in the month of October,

¹ Burnet Reform., I. 200 De Thou, iv. 292, edit. 1604.

² Teulet I. 282. "Si bien frottés."

³ His emissaries apprized him accurately of the state of public opinion in Scotland; his way was traced out to him before-hand; one of his spies wrote to him this note, dated 8th

August:—"Hast, hast, hast, for thy lyf, with spede. I kepe the passage of Dunde . . . and troble the contreth here as moche as I maye, to discourage theyre goyng towardes the camp." Sir John Luttrell to the Earl of Shrewsbury. Stevenson's Illustrations.

and the frost was beginning to bite. Edinburgh seemed to him more suited for the purpose than any other town; victuals were plentiful, and to billet troops there was easy. The bad faith of a Frenchman gave rise to a violent scuffle in which the eldest son of the Provost, several persons of quality, and a few harmless citizens lost their lives. The people, incensed at such conduct, took up arms. That riot gave the Scots grounds for venting their wrath, and for showing the hatred which they had so long had at heart. To divert the mind of the people no doubt, d'Essé made for Haddington; but hardly had he left Edinburgh, when the townsmen slew the French sick and wounded who had not been able to take part in the expedition.¹ It took all d'Essé's firmness to prevent reprisals. Owing to those misunderstandings, the war had degenerated into marauding inroads, as injurious to the Scots as to the French. The fortune of the former and the honour of the latter were equally compromised, and both sides anxiously watched each other without daring to attack the common enemy, or doing so only very lightly. D'Essé felt that strange state of affairs more than any one, and sought to arouse the public mind by some brilliant deed. Chance soon afforded him the occasion which he yearned for. In an engagement with a company of hostile scouts, he killed two hundred of their men, made sixty prisoners, and, that very night, pounced upon Haddington. The sentries were killed, the outworks cleared, the gates knocked in, and shouts of victory arose. The uproar was for a time, as it were, drowned by a loud report from a cannon of large calibre fired by a French deserter. The effect produced by that discharge was disastrous. The compact crowd was within a few yards of the gun, and nearly a hundred victims fell. Confusion ensued. Cries arose; but it was impossible to tell whether they were shouts of victory, or the moanings of the wounded. The tumult gave the English time to look about them and drive away their adversaries.²

Beaten off at that point, d'Essé went to fortify Leith.³ It was at that time a straggling town of little extent: a few houses on the sea-side, and two winding streets opening out on the plain. Thanks to d'Essé's care, it soon became an important town. The French general

¹ Teulet I. 231. Rapport de St. Mauris.

² Buchanan, xv. Histoire de la Guerre d'Escosse, Jan de Beaugué, II., ch. 25, 26.

³ It is astonishing that Leith was not fortified in the Sixteenth Century. That port was, however, one of those which most needed to

be strengthened on account of its situation. That fact makes good the remark of the Ambassador Daniel Barbaro, that the Scots "non sono atti ne à fortificare ne à defendere i forti." Relazione de Ambasciatori Venez. Biblioth. de Rouen, MS. U. 95, Tome II. docum. 2.

intended to retake Broughty citadel also, and to settle there. The order of the Queen to enter England made him give up that idea, so he pushed on as far as Newcastle without any hindrance, took much booty, and, on his return, made Inchkeith castle capitulate.¹

That was his last campaign. The Queen-mother seeing that the French troops did more harm to the Scots than to the English, began to hate d'Essé, and did not conceal it. She wrote to the King of France that the officers and soldiers were very insolent, that they ill-treated the Scots, and made the French name odious. The King called d'Essé back, and, in his stead, sent de Thermes accompanied by Montluc. De Thermes was an illustrious and prudent warrior. Montluc, Bishop of Valence, had been ambassador at Constantinople, and bore the reputation of great wisdom. That churchman, whom all parties praised equally, was to be the Chancellor; the King hoped that his wisdom would bring about a reconciliation between Scotland and France; but the ill-will of the nobles and the hatred of which, in all such cases, a foreigner is the object, were so strong, that it was deemed meet to recall him to France.

The following year was little propitious to the English. De Thermes took Broughty Castle, managed to isolate Haddington, and put his foes in a sad plight. Lord Dacres had taken the place of Bowes, and the Earl of Rutland that of Lord Grey; and affairs went on as well as ever. The situation of Haddington was desperate; the country around was barren and waste; disease decimated the troops, provisions were getting scarce, and the garrison could no longer hold their own without help; any relief must come from England, and an army was wanted to be the convoy. The difficulty seemed so serious that the English abandoned Haddington Castle, after dismantling it.² They now held only one stronghold in Scotland: that was Lauder. De Thermes headed his army at the assault on that last bulwark of English power, and was on the point of making himself master of it, when he heard of the treaty of Boulogne, which ceded it along with Douglas Castle to the Scots.³

Engaged as the Scots were in those quarrels with England, they were still stirring and seeking to renew their power. The Regent was weak, the Queen-mother exclusive, and the reformers ambitious and revolutionary. The people shared the new ideas, and were generally

¹ Balfour's *Annales*, I. 295. Beaugué, I. 111, 112.

² Balfour's *Annales*, I. 296.

³ Rymer, *Fœdera*, &c. VI., 'iii. 182, 183. *Illust. of the Reign of Queen Mary*, various letters, 38, 52.

persuaded that some great event was being hatched. The Queen-mother thought that, under the circumstances, and in view of the difficulties which might arise, she had nothing better to do than seek advice from her family and the King of France. She concealed the true object of her journey, and gave as her reason that she wished to see her little Mary. She arrived on the 19th of September at Dieppe, followed by de Thermes, La Chapelle and a number of French and Scottish officers, and on the 25th, with tears of joy, kissed the little exile. Great rejoicings took place at Rouen. On the 1st of October the King made his entrance into the town with unusual state.¹ The whole court was there. The King was accompanied by the Dauphin, and followed by the lovely "Sénéchale," and numerous princesses, whose graceful bearing "awoke the delighted admiration of the people, who knew not whether more to admire the beauty of their faces, or the richness of their garments."² Honours were heaped upon the nobles who returned from beyond the Channel; poetry sang their triumphs, and yet little Mary was not forgotten amid the mirth of the people; it was delightful to think that, through that child, Scotland, even England, might soon be united to France, and that God in His own good time would bring about a change in Scottish affairs "whereby the Dauphin should be King of Scotland, and wield a triple sceptre over the nations;" and to that the poet adds the earnest prayer "that France and England may one day be united."³ In spite of her extreme youth, Mary was very far advanced in her studies. Henry II. insisted that her education should be complete; he gave her the best masters, and the child made wonderful progress. At that early period she already spoke Latin correctly,⁴ and wrote rather pretty verses. Those who had access to her were delighted to find the young girl very graceful and clever.

The society of her charming daughter did not make the Queen-mother lose sight of her object. She had several private interviews with the King, and returned to Edinburgh only when she had settled what concerned the Regency. She passed through England on her way back.

The relations between Scotland and that country had been broken off

¹ Extr. des Reg. de l'Hôtel de ville de Rouen. Bibliot. pub. MS. I., No. 134, 137.

² Franc. Michel, *Les Ecossais en France et les Français en Ecosse*, I. 473.

. affin

Que son Roy fust nostre François daulphin
Et bâtissoit lors une trinité

De sceptre uny en une Majesté.

Que dire vrai je puisse qu'il viendra
Ung jour qu' à France Albyon se joindra.
Entree de Henri II. à Rouen. Edit. des
Biblioph. Normands 1868, XIV., XV.

⁴ Mr de Montaignon has published for the Warton Club, a series of Latin exercises written by Marie Stuart, during 1553, 1554. Small 8vo, 1855.

since the invasion, and the Queen-mother was anxious to get out of that doubtful condition, which was neither war nor peace. Edward VI. received her in London with great magnificence, showed her the treasures of the crown, the splendour and the monuments of his capital, the riches which were at the disposal of English Queens, and all that was likely to act upon the mind, or touch the heart of the illustrious traveller. Then he asked her why she would not give him her daughter, according to the promise which the Scottish nation had made. It would also be a great boon for the two nations, urged he, while neither France nor Scotland could hope for any good from their intended alliance; on the contrary, he should consider as his mortal foe the prince who might gain the hand of the heiress of Scotland. The Queen-mother replied that all blame in the matter must be laid to the charge of the Protector, who by a war as impolitic as it was cruel, had estranged the mind of the Scots, and forced them to give their Queen to France in exchange for help.¹ The King seemed satisfied, and sent a guard of honour to escort the Queen-mother as far as the Borders.

The Regent was rejoiced at her return. He had felt how difficult it was to rule a state; he seemed tired of it. From his state of mind the Queen-mother hoped he would give up the Regency in her favour, and begged him to do so. All tends to the belief that the Earl of Arran, by nature peaceful and fond of repose, would have willingly resigned, especially since he had been made Duke of Chatelleraut, had there not been opposition to his doing so on the part of his brother, the Archbishop of St Andrews, who was the most ambitious prelate in Scotland. That unexpected resistance vexed and puzzled the Queen-mother. It was necessary to avoid an open quarrel which might lead the nation to think the government divided. The Queen-mother resolved to be patient; but in order to leave the Regent no excuse, she communicated a threatening letter written about him by the French court. The Earl on his side was weighing matters most carefully; he owed as much to France as to Scotland, and the dukedom of Chatelleraut forced him to act considerately. The Queen-mother since her return had perceptibly gained ground in public favour; her affability and her sweetness drew the people to her, and the Presbyterians themselves were almost siding with her.² The Archbishop having fallen seriously ill, the Earl, freed from his influence, promised to abdicate, and in spite of his brother's reproaches, did so during April 1554.³

¹ Leslæus de Rebus Scotorum, 512, 513.

³ Buchanan, xvi. Keith, 58, 59.

² Balfour's Annales, I. 300.

This time a change was tried which proves the genius of the Queen-mother, and shows the new life which she sought to infuse into the kingdom. Until then, every soldier had to throw aside the mattock to wield the claymore at the bidding of his chief, and was obliged to carry provisions sufficient for the probable length of the campaign.¹ Thence great inconvenience; for the soldier was obliged to leave when the war was prolonged. The Queen-mother, now Regent, considered that kind of organization detestable. On the advice of d'Oysel, she resolved to form a regular army. A general tax levied in Scotland was to cover the cost of that standing force, which shortly was to place Scotland in the first rank, and enable her to struggle with more success against England. It is not possible to ascertain how much the country might have gained by adopting the plan. The Scots are by nature brave; their usefulness in the field would have been doubled by habits of discipline, and by drill. Unluckily the stubbornness of some nobles, and the stupid blindness of the mass, which dislikes change, caused a scheme so skilfully planned to fail.²

The nobles did not follow the Regent's advice to invade England while that country was at strife with France. The Scottish nobility liked better to neglect their own interests than to be useful to the French. The States, assembled at Newbattle, openly pronounced against all aggression.³ Their refusal displeased the Regent, but did not make her give up her plan. As her proposal had given rise to discontent, and as she could not re-open the subject, she had recourse to a ruse; she ordered d'Oysel to rebuild the fortifications at Aymouth, contrary to clause v. of the treaty of the 24th of March 1550. The Berwick garrison made an attack to hinder the undertaking; that was exactly what the Regent wanted; she availed herself of the opportunity to protest against that violence, and to blame the English for the breaking of the truce. It was all in vain. D'Oysel was censured, recalled, and peace was not broken.⁴

¹ Diurnal passim. Illust. of the reign of Q. Mary, 40, and passim.

² Balfour's Annales I. 305. Hollinshed Cron., II. 274. Gilbert Stuart, Hist. of Ref., 105, 106.

³ Keith, 71. Leslie, X. 531. Buchanan, xvi. Balfour's Annales I. 308.

⁴ Buchanan, etc., loc. cit. Gilbert Stuart, Hist. of Ref., 112.

CHAPTER II.

1558—1560.

MARY STUART'S EDUCATION—HER DISPOSITION AND HER TALENTS—PROJECT OF MARRIAGE—DISCUSSION AND CONTRARY OPINIONS—MARY STUART'S MARRIAGE—DUPLICITY OF THE FRENCH COURT—PLAGUES AND FLOODS—ARRIVAL OF JOHN KNOX IN SCOTLAND—WASTE CAUSED BY THE REFORMERS—THEIR BAD FAITH—SIEGE OF LEITH—THE BESIEGED REDUCED TO THE LAST EXTREMITY—TREATY OF EDINBURGH—EXIGENCIES OF THE PROTESTANTS—KNOX ESTABLISHES THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND—CONSPIRACY OF AMBOISE—MISSION OF CHEVALIER DE SEURE—DEATH OF FRANCIS II.

MARY was on the verge of her sixteenth year, and was not yet married. No woman of that period equalled her in grace, loveliness or wit. Her natural charms were enhanced by that politeness of language, exquisite tone of feeling and nobleness of bearing, which made the Court of the Valois the first in Europe. Her progress had been very rapid. Sprung from the blood of the Stuarts and the Guises, she had within her the brilliant qualities of those great houses. From her earliest youth she gave signs of what she was to be in after years: proud, generous, chivalrous and unselfish. At the age of ten her courage was "already so high and so noble," that she could not suffer to be "basely treated or kept in tutelage." "Your daughter," wrote the Cardinal de Lorraine, from whom I borrow these details, "has grown so tall, and every day increases so much in goodness, beauty, wisdom and virtue, that she is most accomplished and perfect in all honourable and noble things, and her like is not now to be seen in this kingdom in any station whatever. . . . The King so delights in her that he spends much time in talking with her, and she cleverly entertains him with good and wise talk, quite as well as a woman of twenty-five."¹ She had as masters and admirers, Buchanan, Fauchet, Pasquier,

¹ . . . "desja si haulte et si noble . . . bassement traictée ni tenue en curatelle." "Vostre fille est tellement crue et croist tous les jours en grandeur, bonté, beauté, saigesse et vertus que c'est la plus parfaicte et accomplie en toutes choses honnestes et vertueuses qu'il est possible, et ne se voit aujourd'hui rien de tel en ce royaume, soit en fille noble ou aultre de quelque basse ou moyenne con-

dition et qualité qu'elle puisse estre . . . le Roy y prend tel goust qu'il passe bien son temps à deviser avec elle l'espace d'une heure et elle le scet aussi bien entretenir de bons et saiges propos, comme feroit une femme de vingt-cinq ans." Cardinal de Lorraine to the Queen-Dowager of Scotland, 25th February 1553. Balcar. pap. and Prince Labanoff, I. 9, 10.

and Ronsard, and was the centre of attraction in the most brilliant court of Europe.

In the midst of that cheerful and lettered court, Mary acquired those bewitching airs and enticing manners, which were in later years to lead to such grievous woes. "You have," says Brantôme, "a group of human goddesses, the one more beautiful than the other; each lord, each gentleman chats with her whom he likes most, whilst the King entertains the Queen, his sister, the Queen Dauphin (Mary Stuart) and the princesses."¹ Among those divinities figured Marguerite de Navarre, Marguerite de Savoie, the great "Sénéchale" Diane de Poitiers and Anne d'Este, princess of Ferrara, "who, more than all ladies of Christendom, excelled in beauty, accomplishments, charming conversation and good humour."²

Little Mary soon attracted notice even amid such a galaxy of radiant stars; she was much noticed by the "Sénéchale," and was always one of the royal party in their walks;³ she often went with Diane to Amboise or Fontainebleau. The King, in his excursions, was accompanied by a number of young lords eager to win golden opinions from the princesses. Fontainebleau was the spot set apart for rural rejoicings; in summer, the King and his Court played at tennis or tilting at the ring; in winter, they had hunting, sliding, snow-balling, dances and masked balls.⁴ Happy times which the cares of an obscure policy had not yet saddened. Catherine de Médicis, who "had more intelligence than was needful to govern a quiet State,"⁵ kept aloof from those circles of gallantry.

Mary Stuart created great enthusiasm when, dressed as a Highland maiden "with satin snood and silken plaid," she sang, accompanying herself on the lute, Scottish melodies, or verses of her own composition.⁶ With auburn locks and beaming eye, and of gentle, sweet and pleasing language, her delicate exterior produced upon those who saw her an impression not to be resisted. "Our Scottish young girl-Queen has

¹ "Là se trouvoient une foule de déesses humaines les unes plus belles que les autres; chaque seigneur et gentilhomme entretenait celle qu'il aimait le mieux, tandis que le roy entretenait la reine, madame sa sœur, la reine Dauphine (Marie Stuart) et les princesses." — Brantôme. *Discours sur les dames galantes*.

² MS. History of Henry II., already quoted, 11.

³ Prince Labanoff, I., 32.

⁴ MS. Hist. of Henry II., 2, sq.

⁵ MS. Hist. of Henry II., 4.

⁶ "Etant habillée à la sauvaige comme ie l'ay veuë, et à la barbaresque mode des sauuaiges de son pays, elle paroissoit en un corps mortel et l'habit barbare et grossier, une vraye Déesse. Ceux qui l'ont veuë ainsi habillée le pourront ainsi confesser en toute vérité, et ceux qui l'ont veuë ou pourront avoir veu son portraict estant ainsi habillée." Brantôme, *Discours sur Marie Stuart*.

only to smile to turn all brains,"¹ said Catherine de Médicis, a witness of all those triumphs.²

She won the love of the people themselves. It is said, that in a procession, one Corpus Christi day, a poor woman, struck with the loveliness of Mary, walking gravely with a cierge in her hand, could not help asking if she were not an angel.³

Though sprightly, Mary could look upon matters seriously. Her youthful godliness had attracted the notice of the Cardinal de Lorraine.⁴ When not enjoying her hours of recreation she was of a grave and thoughtful disposition. The Queen-Regent had early initiated her in the secrets of the Government of Scotland; by her discretion she justified the confidence which her mother placed in her; guilelessly, she submitted her opinions to the same kind ear, wrote in favour of certain Scottish noblemen, and in her letters gave evidence of a shrewd mind, a sound judgment and a truly royal heart. Her private amusements betokened feelings above her age. Besides music, poetry and painting,⁵ Mary gave much time to embroidery. She often spent her leisure hours in composing emblems, as was then the custom in the French Court; and that occupation, at a later period, enabled her to depict her feelings with as much force as truth.

¹ "Notre petite reinette écossaise n'a qu'à sourire pour tourner toutes les têtes."

² A volume could be written on the beauty of Mary Stuart, and on the influence which that unfortunate Queen exercised at the Court of France :

"Aspice quantum honos frontis, quæ gratia blandis
Interfusa genis, quam mitis flamma decoris
Fulguret ex oculis." . . . —BUCHANAN.

"Toy qui as veu l'excellence de celle
Qui rend le ciel sur l'Esosse enuieux
Dy hardiment : contentez-vous, mes yeux,
Vous ne verrez iamais chose plus belle.

"En vostre esprit le ciel s'est surmonté.
Nature et l'art ont en vostre beauté
Mis tout le beau dont la beauté s'assemble."—J. DU BELLAY.

"Num studiis, genere atque opibus, num denique formâ in-
venient aliam que se huic componere possit."

MICHEL L'HOSPITAL.

"Toute la beauté
Qui est et qui sera et a jamais este
Près de la sienne est laide, et la mère nature
Ne composa jamais si belle créature."—RONSARD.

"Etiam post tædiosi carceris molestiam, pristinum oris decus

ac pulchritudo quo tot homines in sui amoris (sic) rapuerat, integre adhuc relucebant."—DE THOU.

"Vox Dianæ! God save that sweet face."—J. KNOX.

"Elle n'estoit pas seulement la plus belle, mais la plus polie de tout son sexe, dans la langue et dans la belle galanterie."
CASTELNAU.

"Surtout elle aimoit la Poësie . . . elle se mesloit d'estre Poëte et composoit des vers dont j'en ay veu aucuns de beaux et tres bien faits. . . . De plus elle escriuoit fort bien en Prose, et sur tout en lettres que j'ay veues et très-éloquentes et hautes. Toutefois quand elle devoit avec aucun, elle estoit de fort doux, mignard et fort agréable langage, et avec une bonne majesté, meslée pourtant avec une fort discrete et modeste priuauté et surtout avec une fort belle grace."

BRANTÔME.

"Maria Stuarta Regina Scotiæ fœmina fuit, in quam omnia sua ornamenta videntur contulisse Natura, Fortuna, Virtus. Nam eo fuit habitu corporis, ea bonorum affluentia, ea mentis bonitate, ut à tribus illis videatur suscepta contentio, ederent né mundo Natura pulchriorem, Fortuna fœliciores, an virtus meliorem. Audiui à multis, iisque sanè in hoc genere benè lynceis, quicquid viderant in Anglia, Gallia, Italia, Germania, Flandria pulchri et venusti, id totum, quantum et quantum erat, præ hac conformatione membrorum, hac venustate, hac Maiestate, hac huius Reginæ suauitate penitus sorduisse."—OBERT BARNET. Jebb I. 385.

³ Bell's Life of Queen Mary, I., 70.

⁴ Prince Labanoff, I., 36.

⁵ Bishop Keith, 180, note.

At the death of Francis II., she was embroidering the woody nightshade with this motto: *Dulce meum tegit terra*; amid the troubles of Government, it was a vessel beaten by the winds and waves with the inscription: *nunquam nisi rectam*; she embroidered a lion at the birth of her only son with: *unum quidem sed leonem*; during her imprisonment, she worked at a caged bird which a hawk wished to seize, and the poor Queen thus expressed her fears: *il mal me prene et me spavanta deggio*; then it was a crown with the adage: *aliamque moratur*, a heavenly one; and many others not less expressive.²

She was passionately fond of dancing and hunting, and indulged in them perhaps to excess. In the ball-room she outshone the other princesses, and for a long time shared with Anne d'Este the praises of the onlookers; later on, in a *galliarde*, she danced to the satisfaction of the whole assembly. At the hunt she kept pace with the most daring horsemen. It is related, that in one of the royal hunts, Mary, carried away by the fire of her disposition, and unable to reckon the risk, rushed forward full speed through a clump of large trees; a branch caught her dress, threw her, and the horse kept on its course. Several gentlemen passed near her without noticing her. When at length the accident was known, and help was at hand, she was found standing on the grass, busy settling her hair which the violence of the shock had dishevelled, and as soon as her horse was brought she re-mounted, laughing at her mishap.³

That young lady, so cheerful and playful, whose delicate hand awakes the sweet melodies of Scotland, sometimes breaks in a steed which quivers under her, reads Homer and Virgil, Ariosto and Petrarch, and draws around her the men whom literature and science honour; she argues⁴ in Latin with Master François du Faix, rector of the University, for having dared to say that liberal arts ought to be forbidden to women: that he is wrong, she proves by arguments at once full of force and grace, and above all by an eloquence which entices and leads captive the audience. And who are the judges who pronounce in her favour? Michel de l'Hôpital, Pierre de Ronsard, Etienne Jodelle, Joachim du Bellay, Baïf, Amyot, Brantôme, all the illustrious men who were the ornament of French literature at that time. The enthusiasm which she must have called forth is easily understood

¹ It may also be understood as relating to that of England.

² Mackenzie, the Writers, &c., III., 329, 331.

³ Bell's Life of Queen Mary, I., 52.

⁴ At thirteen or fourteen.—Brantôme.

. . . "a Queen indeed by beauty, wit, and also talent, Mary was the pride of France."¹ Such was the wife intended for Francis II.

That alliance, desirable as it was, gave rise to warm debates. Although the marriage had been long contemplated,² people rejoiced that it was not being hurried on, the embarrassments resulting therefrom making it be dreaded as much as the qualities of the young Queen made it be longed for.

The Lorraine princes insisted on the alliance. They pleaded a great addition to the power of France while holding Scotland, the rights over England which that union would confer, the impossibility of finding in Europe a more advantageous match, and, lastly, the accomplishments of the Princess. The Constable de Montmorency was by no means of that opinion; resting on the inconveniences offered by the alliance of two nations distant from one another and different in customs, on the restless spirit of Scotland, on the need of keeping an army there, a policy which Spain, notwithstanding its rich possessions, had difficulty in keeping up, he thought it was better to have the Queen married to a trustworthy French lord, and to send them both to Scotland.³ That opinion, if not exactly in harmony with the manners of the time, was at least confirmed by the result. Spain was a great problem, for after a glorious reign it was almost without resources. The Constable put great reliance on that example; but it served only to raise suspicions against him, his opposition being attributed to his jealousy of the Guises.

The King then addressed the members of the Parliament of Scotland; he reminded them of the long alliance which had always existed between Scotland and France, and which he had himself tried to uphold and strengthen since the first day of his reign, of the advantage which the two nations derived from it, and the chance of drawing it closer by the wedding of young Mary with the French Dauphin, both at a marriageable age; he begged them also to send commissioners empowered to carry out what might seem best; and pointed out to them a happy future from that alliance.⁴ James Beaton, Bishop of Glasgow; David Panter, Bishop of Ross, First Secretary of State; Robert Reid, President of the Ecclesiastical Session; Gilbert Kennedy, Grand Treasurer; Lord Fleming, Grand Chamberlain; George Lesley, Earl of Rothes, of the Privy Council; Lord Seton, Prior

¹ Mennechet, *Cours de Littérature*, I., 353.

² Melvil 15. Robertson, I., 156.

³ D'Oysel to Mr de Dacks, Teulet, I., 294.

⁴ Lesley, *De rebus gestis et moribus Scotorum*, X., 533, sq.

of St Andrews, natural brother of the Queen ; James Stewart and John Erskine of Dun, Provost of Montrose,¹ were chosen to represent the Parliament at the Queen's marriage.

After having made the Queen and the Dauphin swear that no change should be made in the laws and manners of Scotland, the treaty was signed on the following conditions: the eldest son born of the marriage should be King of France ; if there were only daughters, the eldest should be Queen of Scotland with a dowry of four hundred thousand crowns as a princess of France ; Mary might re-marry only with the consent of the French and Scottish States; the Dauphin should take the title and bear the arms of King of Scotland, and in case of death, should leave to his widow a dower of sixty thousand livres tournois.²

The nuptials were celebrated on the 24th of April, and gave satisfaction to all.³ Early in the morning the Provost of the Merchants and the Aldermen, in yellow and crimson costume, the King's *Procureur*, the Receivers and Controllers in full dress, assembled at the Hotel de Ville. At nine o'clock they came down together from the Hotel, and marched forward with great ceremony, between two rows of archers and cross-bow-men, as far as Notre Dame. The Cathedral was lavishly ornamented. The door-way bore the arms of France and of Scotland ; the mosaic of the choir and nave, and the approaches also, were covered with Turkey carpets. At about eleven, the drums began to beat, and the trumpets to sound opposite the Bishop's palace, where the King had slept, and soon after, the august betrothed appeared. The Bishop of Paris came to receive them at the entrance of the Cathedral, and there the marriage was solemnised by Cardinal de Bourbon.

The procession was brilliant, and the general effect fairy-like ; but it was after the marriage, when the wedded pair left the platform erected opposite the porch, and entered the basilica, that the imposing ceremony was seen in all its magnificence. At the back, in the choir, sat the Members of Parliament, with scarlet gowns and fur hoods ; in front, on the left side, the Officers of Justice and of the Mint. On leaving the church the procession was headed by Cardinal de Bourbon, Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Paris, followed by a band of musicians in

¹ Bishop Keith, 72. De Thou, xx.

² Bishop Keith, 74.

³ " One cannot declare with what applause of all the people, with what congratulation of all the neighbour princes, with what magnifi-

cence this marriage was solemnised."—Udall, the *Historie and Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, Preface. That author, except in his preface, is a barefaced plagiarist, who has constantly copied Camden, without quoting him.

red and yellow livery; then came the hundred gentlemen of the King's household, in full dress. The Pope's Legate, Monsignor de Trivulse, and the Cardinals de Lorraine, Guise, Meudon, and Lenoncourt, walked before the happy couple. The Dauphin was led by the King of Navarre, accompanied by the Bishop of Orleans and his brother of Angoulême; the Queen of Scots by King Henry II. and the Duke de Lorraine. She wore a dress of velvet, covered with jewels and trimmed with lace, and a crown set with pearls and diamonds worth about five hundred thousand crowns. Two young girls carried her train. On seeing her thus adorned, as she advanced between the princes as Queen of the World, more than one maiden would likely have wished to take her place. Alas! why must so brilliant a dawn have so gloomy an evening! how little we know what we do when we envy the lot of others!

The procession was closed by the Queens of France and Navarre, led by the Prince de Condé, and followed by the princesses and ladies in great numbers.

Outside the cathedral the streets were thronged, for, in addition to the curious, crowds of persons rushed forward to share the royal bounty.¹

The afternoon was spent in great rejoicings; dancing followed feasting, and the play the dance. There were, says the chronicler who transmits us those details, triumphs greater than those of Cæsar; those who were present can bear witness to it. First were the seven planets, with their mythological emblems; they sang melodies and words composed for the occasion. Twenty-five beautiful horses, or rather basket horses, caparisoned with gold and silver cloth, each ridden by a young prince, and led by a lacquey, followed them; then came a chariot of antique form, with musicians discoursing eloquent music, and drawn by two handsome white steeds with traces of silver cloth; they were followed by twelve unicorns mounted by young princes so richly clad that it seemed as if gold and silver cloth cost nothing. After them two other white horses, yoked to a triumphal car, upon which sat the nine muses, around whom were young girls in rich attire, making the air resound with sweet symphonies. Those various spectacles had taken two long hours to pass by. Until then the members of the royal family had taken no part in the festival; their turn came, and

¹ "Ce faict fut gecté grande somme d'or et d'argent à grandes poignées sur le peuple par ung herault de France, lequel prononça (pro-

claimed) le dit mariage en criant à haulte voix : Largesse ! largesse ! largesse !" — *Mariage de Marie Stuart*, Teulet, I., 307.

it was with admiration mingled with astonishment that the bystanders saw issuing from the *Chambre des Requêtes* six beautiful ships with masts and sails of silver. They seemed, as they advanced under full sail, to be wafted along by the breath of genii. On each ship were two chairs, and on one of them a prince dressed in gold cloth and masked. As they passed the marble table where the ladies were, the princes who were in the ships took, the one the Queen, another the bride, the next the Queen of Navarre : then Madame Elisabeth, Madame Marguerite and Madame Claude, the king's second daughter. They seated them by their sides, and the procession passed on. That was the end of the festival.¹

Those lovely days lost somewhat of their brilliancy when Brandi, Keeper of the Seals, claimed from the Scottish envoys the crown and the other insignia of sovereign authority, wishing the Dauphin thenceforth to be recognised as King of Scotland, just as Philip of Spain had been recognised King of England after marrying Queen Mary. They replied that they had received no order, and that they could not grant his request. All that could be obtained from them was the promise that they should support the interests of France in presence of the States of Scotland.² Four of them never again set eyes upon their country ; they died suddenly at short intervals, and the report spread that they had been poisoned.³

Before the ambassadors were so basely treated, Mary had been treacherously dealt with, and forced to sign iniquitous acts. The first was a gift, pure and simple, of Scotland to the Kings of France, should she happen to die childless. The motives assigned when demanding this concession were the long alliance of the two peoples, and the services rendered to Scotland by the Kings of France, especially by Henry II. The second stipulated that in case that transfer should be denied by the Scottish nation, she gave up Scotland to the crown of France until one million pieces of gold should be paid. Lastly, the third made her declare that the two former acts were the expression of her free will, notwithstanding all other declarations to the contrary which she might eventually make to please the Scottish Parliament.⁴ The last clause is especially revolting, inasmuch as it would hinder

¹ Mariage du Dauphin, Teulet, I., 302-311. De Thou, xx.

² Manifesto of the Lords of the Congregation, Teulet, II., 10 ; Keith, 72-75 ; Buchanan, xvi., 16 ; Lesley, 542.

³ Diurnal of Occur., 268 ; De Thou, Book xx. ; Herries' Memoirs, 33 ; Buchanan, xvi., 17.

⁴ Bishop Keith, 73, 74 ; Archives de l'Empire ; Trésor des Chartes, j. 679. No. 59, 60.

Mary, on her reaching a mature age, from ever retracting that grave decision wrung from her youth and inexperience.

That year (1558) was most unlucky, and one might almost have been tempted to believe that heaven had formed a league with human passions to ruin everything. The plagues which had ravaged Italy (1557)¹ after having afflicted Spain,² burst over England and Scotland with fresh impetuosity. The inhabitants of towns and villages were equally terrified. Already astonished at the boldness of the new doctrines, they were for a time as if seized with stupor in presence of the plague with which they were being visited. It was a strange confusion. Lightning did frightful damage. Steeples were torn down, leaden roofs twisted and whirled afar, houses levelled, and entire villages destroyed. Overflowing rivers, in their headlong torrents, carried away the ruins of buildings and uprooted trees. Hurricanes, frequent and terrible, lifted men off their feet, and dashed them against walls. Hailstones of enormous size fell. Worse than all, a fever which nothing could arrest, and which cut off those whom distress had spared, was rife : such was the state of affairs.³

At the same time that the enraged elements were piling up ruins, incendiaries were at work. Revolts were frequent and furious. Protestantism, while rousing the minds, had unbridled the passions ; people rushed into all sorts of excesses. The Proselytes of Scotland, more hot-brained than those of England, were rabid to destroy Romish idolatry. All means were considered justifiable ; to kill or banish priests, slander their manners, mutilate statues, destroy monasteries and churches, and burn holy things, seemed acts praiseworthy and pleasing to God. The irritated Catholics had recourse to violence, but all was in vain ; the Protestants united to resist, and formed a " Congregation." The two camps were henceforth separate, and vied in bad faith and animosity.⁴

The arrival of Knox was the signal for still greater desolation. After sounding from Geneva his first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regimen of women,⁵ he was coming to spread among the people of

¹ De Rabutin's Memoirs, ad ann. 1557.

² De Thou, xix.

³ Burnett's Reform., ii., vol. IV., 865 ; Balfour's Annales, l., 312 ; Spottiswoode, l., 135, 136 ; Lesley, 540.

⁴ De Thou, xxi. ; Buchanan, xvi., 21 ; Camden's Hist. Eliz., Edit. Elzev., 31, 32 ; Stevenson's History of Church and State of Scotland, 47. The act of Congregation is found in the note, and in Bishop Keith, 66. It is a

masterpiece of bad taste. Besides, everyone knows that those gentlemen by no means piqued themselves on atheism ; and Dr Whitaker, who seems to have been at their school for style, calls the apostle of the Reformation, J. Knox, truthfully, though somewhat rudely, " Son of violence and barbarism, religious Sachem of religious Mohawks."

⁵ M'Gavin's edit., 439-461.

Scotland the hatred with which his soul was filled. His violent speeches were always followed by some ravage. Not satisfied with establishing his doctrine, he worked hard for a revolution. His insolence was very great, and the deeds resulting therefrom were very wild.

The Protestants had in the first place asked for liberty of conscience, which they held for not more than a week, when they themselves became persecutors. In that short time horrible villanies were committed. Knox, who on another occasion said—"Pull downe the nests, that the crowes might not build again," was pleased with these riots, as if they had been good deeds, and wrote thus on the 23d June, in a letter addressed to Mrs Anne Locke:—"They were content to take assurance for eight days, permitting unto us freedom of religion in meantime. In the whilk the abbay of Lindores, a place of black Monkes, distant from St Andrewis twelve myles, we reformed, their altars overthrew we, their idols, vestments of idolatrie, and mass books we burnt in their presence, and commanded them to cast away their monkish habits."¹ That conduct at length wearied the Regent; such excesses were unbearable. The court of France was getting anxious, and looked for news every fifth or sixth day.² Mary was deeply moved; her natural gentleness made her intercede with Chatelleraut for the guilty. She desired him to use all means which lenity could suggest to bring the Protestants back to a behaviour more worthy of themselves, and less insulting to the Catholics.³

The Regent, convinced that the Reformers would set down to weakness any further endurance of such a state of things, took up arms. They vainly tried to make peace at Perth. The one side accused the other of bad faith; the last connecting link between the two parties was broken; war alone could restore peace. The Protestants began with pamphlets against "the generation of the Antichrist, the pestilent prelates, and their shavelings within Scotland," and promised remission of sins to those who should follow them. Their sole delight was to destroy. They sacked Crail and Anstruther, came down upon Perth, devastated Stirling, and pushed forward as far as Edinburgh. Their joy was great; the inhabitants had anticipated their wishes by pillaging the

¹ Extract of a letter from J. Knox to Mrs Anne Locke. M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, Appendix VII.

² *Négociations, Lettres et Pièces diverses relatives au Règne de François II.*, in the unpublished documents of the History of France, 14.

³ *Négoc.* 19. She wrote on the 24th of the same month to Lord James Stewart, Prior of St Andrews, an energetic letter, which Spottiswoode has quoted, I., 289. It is not in the Prince Labanoff collection.

churches and monasteries, and now they threw open for them the gates of the city.¹

From Dunbar Castle, where the Regent had shut herself up, she gave forth that Lord James had placed himself at the head of the Protestants only to reach the throne. Desertions in the Protestant camp resulted. Scarcity of money and food discouraged those left, and when the Regent besieged Edinburgh, the Protestants surrendered without resistance.² Peace was barely concluded when the bad faith of the Protestants made war necessary. Before leaving Edinburgh, "the saints" circulated among the people an untrue copy of the capitulation. They had kept in it nothing but the articles which were favourable to themselves, and had introduced a clause which put an end to the former rule. The clause said "that idolatry should not be erected where it was at that day suppressed."³

A peace founded on such a treaty could not last; every one felt it, and openly made preparations anew. The death of Henry II. gave the rebels hope of a free pardon; they rose in a body, and came to besiege Edinburgh. They were but a short time before the town. Those bands of rioters, daily varying in strength, had not time to take the usual precautions. Hunger soon dispersed them; the French troops, too, under de la Brosse and Bothwell, were inured to war and well victualled. The insurgents were almost always worsted.⁴

In despair, the Scottish rebels sought aid south of the border. Had Mary been still upon the English throne, the seditious would have had a bad time of it; but in her stead there was a crafty and bold princess, a friend of the Protestants through policy, an illegitimate daughter and unlawful Queen, who hated Mary, and coveted her kingdom.⁵ She was a Queen quite fitted for the occasion. She made the treaty of Berwick with the rebels, and pledged herself to aid them.⁶ Sure of that

¹ Knox, Reform. i., 120, sq., M'Crie edit., 1841, 159, 165, *et passim*; Bishop Keith, 84, 87, 91, 93, 94; Teulet, I, 327, sq.; Burnet, II., 965, 970; G. Stuart, 152, 153, 159, 167; Balfour's Annales, I., 312, 317.

² D'Oysel to G. de Noailles, 25th and 30th July, Teulet. I., 335, 337.

³ Knox, Reform. ii., 136; David Hume, Hist. of Eng., House of Tudor, c. xv.

⁴ In the "Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary," 75, under the title, "Intelligence out of Scotland," may be seen the disturbances which occurred during that wretched year.

⁵ Négoc. 319.

⁶ "Now our people of the Reformed religion, having correspondence with this Queen of England, and having obtained assurance of protection from her, they are both encouraged in there profession, and to propogat and maintain it by the sword; where upon we shall now sie nothing but rebellions and factions burst out lyke a flame of fyre."—Herries' Memoirs, 36. L'Aubespine wrote to the King (23d February 1559) that she "faisoit espaule aux dits rebelles."—Négoc., 274. Elizabeth denies that, in a letter to the Regent of Scotland, 7th August, Teulet, I, 340, and in an inter-

aid, they advanced to deprive the Regent of the government of Scotland, considering her an "idolatress, a vehement maintainer of all superstition and idolatry."¹ The French resisted, and the attempt failed.

The arrival of the English fleet emboldened the rebels, and exasperated the others in a like degree. The French entrenched themselves in Leith, and determined to fight hard. The English besieged the town, and tried to bombard it. As their artillery was not numerous,² they concentrated their fire on St Anthony's tower. The walls soon fell. The position of the besieged was now serious. To divert the attention of the besiegers, they made a vigorous sortie, and killed six hundred of the men in the trenches. The rebels now attempted a general assault, but their loss was great. They were driven back beyond their entrenchments, and their guns were spiked.³

The success of the French was short. Martigues, on his arrival, had told them that the Marquis d'Elbœuf would soon come to their relief with a large army. The fleet by which he was accompanied was beaten back by a storm towards the coast of Holland, and forced to return to Dieppe.⁴ They waited, but d'Elbœuf did not appear. When they learned the fate of the fleet, they had just narrowly escaped ruin. Leith had caught fire, and the flames, after blowing up a magazine, had threatened to burn the whole town. Many of the French flung aside their arms, and worked to stop the spread of the flames. They shewed great courage and patience, for in addition to the fury of the conflagration, they had to stand the murderous fire of the English artillery.⁵

view granted to G. de Noailles (Teulet, I, 343) she said, in order to justify herself, "qu'il pourroit bien estre qu' aucun de ses ministres, dont il y en avoit d'assez fols, auroient tenu des propos mal sages aux Escossois, mais qu'elle avoit mandé d'en enquerir et envoyé un homme exprès pour les radresser." On another occasion, 29th September, she said that "c'estoit une mallebouche" (a calumny), *Ibid* 356; see also 362 sq., 367, 380, 397, 407, and sq.; and Vol. II, 15 sq., &c. "Pour ma part," wrote d'Oysel to G. de Noailles (31st June) "je ne puis comprendre en mon esprit qu'ilz ne tendent de droit fil ou autrement à l'encontre de l'autorité pour s'en investir, s'ilz peuvent, soubz prétexte de la dicte Relligion,"—Teulet, I, 325. "Nous sommes enveloppéz de tant de troubles," he again wrote on the 22d July, "pour les depportemens de noz Protestants, qu'il n'est possible de plus, estant entréz

en telle rage et fureur qu'ilz font clairement cognoistre qu'ilz n'ont plus de révérence à Dieu ni au prince."—Teulet, I., 333.

¹ Bishop Keith, 106; Spottiswoode, I, 300; Knox, Reform. ii., 162.

² They had twenty-four guns. Francis II. to the Bishop of Limoges, 21st May 1560.—Négoc., 380.

³ The Illustrations of the reign of Queen Mary contain the account of the assault, 82, 83, and an extract of the wages allowed to the captains, 85, sq. Sadler's Papers have a quantity of particulars relative to the troubles which disturbed Scotland in 1559 and 1560, Vol. I., from 375; Teulet, II., 131; Bishop Keith, 115, sq. 126; Camden, pars I., 41; Négoc. 377-385.

⁴ Camden, I., 37.

⁵ Herries' Memoirs, 49; Diurnal of Occur., 272, 276.

That was only the beginning of misfortunes, for shortly after the Regent died regretted by all.¹ Mourning and hunger went hand in hand. The English were well supplied, and could hold out for a long time; but the provisions of the French were exhausted. Sorties brought them no gain, whilst each day spent in those ever-recurring strifes was a day lost. People were more anxious to live than to conquer; the dread of starvation was their only thought; officers and soldiers lived for a long time upon the shell-fish left on the beach by the ebb of the tide. They gathered that wretched food at the risk of their lives, and that, only when the besiegers gave them leisure to do so. At the time of the attack, the soldiers, without having broken their fast, rushed upon the enemy, but unfortunately after the exhausting fight, they had no food to strengthen them, and although wearied out they were obliged to search for the means whereby to live. Reduced to that extremity, and forsaken by France, the garrison must have lost courage had not the treaty of Edinburgh come to deliver them. That treaty, concluded by Montluc and the Count de la Rochefoucauld-Randan, was in two parts. The articles concerning the rebels were—that the French troops should withdraw from Scotland within twenty days in ships sent by the Queen of England; that the fortifications of Leith and those which the French had built at Aymouth should be razed to the ground; that the King and Queen of France and Scotland should grant to the rebels an amnesty to be confirmed by the States of Scotland. As far as France and England were concerned, it was decreed that *in all times coming* the King and Queen of France and Scotland should abstain from taking the title and arms of King and Queen of England; that a congress should be held in London between the Commissioners of the two kingdoms to give due and final reparation for the injuries done to Elizabeth, and that in case of misunderstanding, the King of Spain should be taken as arbiter.²

The part which related to the rebels was strictly observed; the

¹ Bishop Keith, 127-130.

² Rymer VI., p. iv., 104 sq. Haynes' State Papers I. 329 sq., 341, 351 sq. Dr Forbes, Public Transactions of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, I., 460 sq. Knox, Reform. ii. 199 sq. In the "Récit de l'Evêque de Valence," Négoc., 292-414, may be seen the difficulties which he had to encounter before arriving at any agreement. The treaty of Edinburgh excited in France a feeling of deep sorrow: "Nous nous sommes appointez," wrote the

Secretary of State to l' Aubespine (28th July 1560) "comme vous pourrez veoir *tam iniquis conditionibus*, que cela faict mal au cœur à qui le veoyt; mais de ce maulvais passaige il en falloit sortir en quelque façon et saulver quatre mille hommes des plus vaillans du monde qui estoient perdus et n'y avoit plus moyen de les secourir ni exempter du péril où ils estoient; ce n'a point esté peu faict de les tirer de la gueulle des loups. Négoc., 444.

same cannot be said of the articles which referred to Elizabeth. The Lorrain princes, willing at first to sign,¹ refused ever afterwards to acknowledge the mediation of so ambitious a queen. In Paris, as in London, people wavered as to the course they should pursue, in the face of the difficulties which were starting up on all sides; not that bad faith was used on either side; but the one party was suspicious of the other. Elizabeth thought that Mary had so readily given up her title of Queen of England, only that she might the better conceal her ambitious designs; Mary, on the contrary, thought that the English envoys had inserted *in all times coming*, only to force upon her, formal and entire exclusion for ever.

The treaty affected the government of Scotland also. It had been decided that the administration should lie with twelve members, seven chosen by the Queen, and the rest by the States, and that with them should rest full power in the absence of the sovereigns.² It was clear that this arrangement tended to unite the two parties which had for a long time, and in the face of each other, been on a footing of civil war; but the good which one might expect from it was nullified by the obstinacy of the Protestants. They presented to the States, assembled partly by their manœuvres, a petition filled with abuse of Rome; and not satisfied with asking the sanction of their doctrines, they went so far as cruelly to demand that severe measures be taken against the Catholics. Their reasons were that the clergy was composed only of a set of vile thieves, murderers, seditionaries, traitors and men who ought to be driven forth from among honest men. A Confession of Faith was drawn out and generally adopted. Mass was done away with. He who said mass or took part in its performance was liable to forfeiture of his goods, and in case of a second offence, to banishment or death.³ Knox was the source of all those cruelties. He went further, and wished to despoil the churches of their property. The clergy gave in a defence to Parliament; but no heed was taken of the complaints. Disgusted with such proceedings, and expecting nothing from so iniquitous a court of justice, the Bishops who sat in the States withdrew in silence. That sudden withdrawal made Parliament uneasy. In it there were still some conscientious men, enemies of persecution, and by

¹ There is found in the "Négociations" a ratification in form of the Treaty of Edinburgh. Perhaps it was only a project; that at least is what the subsequent demands of Queen Elizabeth lead one to suppose. Négoc. 478.

² Négoc., 424 and 464. Teulet II. 147.

³ Knox, Reform. iii. Calderwood, The True History of the Church, 14 sq. Négoc. 466, 467.

their advice the Bishops were summoned to appear. No one obeyed the summons which was offensive to the noblest feelings; all of them treated with scorn the orders from such an assembly. It was then declared that no one having come forward, the Catholic clergy considered itself perfectly satisfied.

After that, it is by no means difficult to guess the welcome which Sir James Sandilands received at the court of France, when he asked the Queen to ratify those acts which were at once offensive to right, propriety and conviction. He was received with angry words,¹ and the Reformers having nothing more to expect from an apparent submission, immediately carried out their plans. Universal pillage ensued; in a few days the clergy was reduced to beggary. That *coup de main*, while depriving the nobles of every hope of pardon from France, filled them with doubt and perplexity; the less bold, who had tolerated but not approved of the excesses committed, began to repent their weakness; the others continued to act for their personal interest only, ready to stop when their avarice should be glutted. The *Book of Discipline* increased their hesitation; they had stolen the goods of the Catholic clergy, and those very goods were about to slip from their grasp to endow the Protestant clergy. Strife must have arisen among the Reformers, had not the fear of France kept them united. Threatened from that quarter, they buried their hate, and sent Morton, Glencairn and Lethington to Elizabeth to renew the English alliance.²

Those political struggles did not check Knox, who still acted with the same boldness. Defying Catholics and Protestants, he despoiled the former and oppressed the latter with an iron hand. On his arrival he had stirred up their passions, now he curbed them and made their lawless force serve his plan. Bolder than Henry VIII., he abolished at one blow all ecclesiastical authority; he brought down the highest dignitaries of the Church to a level with the lowest, while he kept for himself a wider sphere and greater power.³ The result was a religious democratic republic rather than a hierarchy, as he made the people the rulers of the Church. There was no form of consecration; the candidate was examined upon the fundamental points of the faith, and upon the differences between Romish idolatry and the Presbyterian Church. If the examination was sufficient, the candi-

¹ Knox, Reform iii. 222. Bishop Keith, 153, 154. *Négoc.* 468, 475. "His message was treated with contempt." Stevenson's History of the Church, 55.

² David Hume, House of Tudor, IV., 172.

³ Whitaker (I. 272) has called him "the Antipope of Scotland." A very suitable epithet.

date was made minister without any other formality. He at once entered on his duties, administered baptism and communion, preached and explained the Scriptures. Deacons collected and distributed the alms of the new church. The hamlets, where there was no minister, had a person to read the Bible to the old, and explain the Catechism of Geneva to the young.

The political organization was on a par with the religious organization. Both were formed against the will of the legitimate sovereigns, and at the instigation of England. The court of France felt that its power was on the wane, and that after having waived its claims to England, it would soon be forced to abandon its rights over Scotland, and it was too busy with its own affairs to meddle with external politics. The same men who were sowing confusion throughout Scotland, threatened France with a similar fate. A vast conspiracy, as yet unknown, brooded in every soul; the whole country was a prey to vague uneasiness, the harbinger of great changes. The partisans of the new ideas tossed high their heads and dared to defy power. The Guises at the head of the government endeavoured to keep up their fortune and their faith by inspiring terror; punishments were of daily occurrence. Some Protestants met death nobly; others abandoned their property and their country, and sought an asylum in foreign lands. A deep sadness reigned in the provinces; meanwhile the court, free from foreboding, was left by the Guises in ignorance of what was going on, and when the towns and villages were filled with dread, the King and Queen were hunting or amusing themselves with some other favourite pastime.

The health of the young King having become impaired, the physicians resolved to give him a change of air, and the court accordingly went to spend some time at Blois. Meanwhile the report was spread that the King was seized with leprosy, and that he had been ordered to bathe in the blood of little children. That rumour quickly gained ground among people who, by former punishments, were led to accept and believe the most frightful stories; and upon the whole line of the royal procession, instead of the usual thronging of the crowd, there was nothing but loneliness; the few faces which ventured to appear, showed fear rather than joy and cheerfulness. The young sovereigns were startled; "What have I done," exclaimed Francis II., "to be thus hated and detested? I am shunned; my people look upon me with horror; it is not thus that the French are in the habit of receiving their King; Oh! my uncle of Guise, they abhor you, and not me."

The time of their stay at Blois Castle was full of alarm ; the usual mirth and gaiety was gone, giving place to bitter cares. The news from the outside was very far from reassuring ; the people were at length convinced that the Reformers were seeking to seize the King's person, to overthrow the Guises, and make the Protestant Prince de Condé, Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. At the head of the conspiracy was Godefroi de Barri, Seigneur de la Renaudie, who according to Brantôme, owed his life to the Duke de Guise. Banished from France for forgery, he had retired to Geneva, where he embraced Calvinism. His interest in that cause made him undertake long journeys. When he had made sure of the help of his co-religionists, he had recourse to the Duke de Guise, whose ruin he was plotting, and obtained from his kindness leave to return to France ; but in place of dwelling there peaceably, he travelled through the South, under the name of Laforêt, intriguing with the Reformers, and exciting them to revolt. On his invitation a large number of Protestants formed themselves into a conventicle at Nantes. La Renaudie drew for them a picture of the evils by which they were overwhelmed, and of the mishaps which threatened them from the Guises, if a prompt and efficacious remedy were not applied. " This," said he to them, " is the opinion of the principal juriconsults, and of the most celebrated Protestant theologians ; one may, without offending one's conscience or violating the royal majesty, use force to overturn the illegal and tyrannical rule of the Guises, provided that be done under the leadership of one or several princes of the blood, called by law to the administration of the kingdom, when the King is incapable of governing. Well, if there came forward to-day a prince of the blood who should consent to make lawful your enterprise and to direct your courage, should you refuse to own him as chief ?" All replied they would accept him, and would march under his orders. La Renaudie mentioned the Prince de Condé. At that name, dear to the Protestants, the confederates are filled with joy ; they grasp each other by the hand, affectionately embrace, and swear not to return to their hearths, until they have overthrown the Guises. After choosing their chiefs, and allotting to each his share in the expedition, they separate.

La Renaudie hastened to Paris to inform the Prince of what had taken place. He put up at the house of an advocate, his friend, named Pierre Avenelles, whose house became at once the regular meeting place of the Reformers. An unwonted thronging surprised the advocate, who expressed his astonishment to La Renaudie. The latter trusting in

his host made known to him part of the design. Avenelles, at first overjoyed, asked to share the dangers; but on the morrow, terrified at seeing his house become the centre of so serious a conspiracy, he sneaked away under pretext of business, and ran to Blois, to give information to the Cardinal. Although people were fully convinced at court, that something was brewing in secret, no importance was attached to Pierre Avenelles' warning; it was beyond belief that a man branded by the laws, as La Renaudie was, should have influence enough over the nobility and people to get up such a conspiracy. Avenelles insisted: "Ere twelve days have past," said he to the Cardinal, "you shall perish a victim to your unbelief, if you do not promptly raise all the forces of the State to surprise and crush the numerous bands of conspirators that are setting out from all the provinces of the kingdom." The Duke de Guise brought all his genius into play to avert the danger. He had the royal family taken to the Castle of Amboise; he then ordered the Lieutenants of the provinces to arrest all armed men whose steps were directed towards Blois, surrounded himself with brave men, on whose fidelity he could rely, and, in order to sow division among his adversaries, published a royal edict granting a general amnesty to the Protestants of any age or condition whatever, save the preachers and the original conspirators.

That measure made them hesitate; but they were too far committed to turn back. La Renaudie again calls a meeting and the plot gains fresh life. The vigilance of the Duke de Guise, whose life and influence were at stake, gradually increased as the hour for action was drawing nigh, and, when it came, the Count de Sancerre defeated the Béarn troops. The Duke de Nemours surprised Castelnau, and made him prisoner, and La Renaudie, while trying to relieve him, met face to face in the wood, his young cousin the Baron de Pardaillon. Heedless of nature's ties, they rushed upon one another. La Renaudie, though wounded, twice passed his sword through his cousin, and in his turn fell by the bullet of a page. His body was dragged to Amboise and fastened to a gibbet with this inscription: *La Renaudie dit Laforêt, chef des rebelles*; he was afterwards quartered. The plot was crushed, but a vengeance was to come, greater than the crime. It was one of the most bloody.

Hundreds of prisoners were hanged in the public squares, at the gates of the town, and on the battlements and trees near the castle; others, tied to long poles, were thrown into the Loire. General was the terror that followed. Protestant bands who had come too late for the out-

break reached Amboise only to share a like fate. The streets of the town and the highways were blocked up with corpses; the Duke de Guise ordered his men to massacre the fugitives lurking in the woods. No mercy was shown.

To render their punishment more solemn, the Duke wished that the chiefs should be questioned and executed in presence of the Court. They affirmed that they had by no means conspired against the King, but only against the Guises, whom they called "infringers of the laws, oppressors of the nation, and usurpers of the royal authority." "If it is a crime to have taken up arms against them," said Castelnau, "I glory in being guilty, and in dying for upholding so just a cause." Standing on the scaffold, they assert their innocence, and their hatred of the Guises. One of them, Villemongey, whose head is last to fall, dips his hands in the blood of his companions, and raising them towards heaven, cried "Great God! behold the innocent blood of my brethren: that blood cries for vengeance; thou wilt not leave their deaths unpunished." The number of those who perished in those fierce reprisals is reckoned at twelve hundred.¹

On the following day the Court, glutted with blood and carnage, sought amusement at Chenonceau, and received a splendid ovation, with which "it must not be doubted that his Majesty, the Queens, princes, ladies and lords, were very much pleased and satisfied."²

As soon as the Court of France had banished fear and resumed the course of affairs, it complained to Throckmorton, Elizabeth's ambassador, that it was suffering injury through the English policy in Scotland.³ The ambassador sent to Mary Stuart attributed the disorders to the non-observance of the treaty of Edinburgh, and demanded that it be ratified. Mary, with more sense, answered that the strained situation was the natural consequence of the treaty of Berwick, which, without her consent, and in defiance of her rights, her rebellious subjects had concluded with the envoys of the English government; and as the ambassador, bound down by his mandate, could not decide, the Cheva-

¹ Histoire de l'Emeute d'Amboise, Danjou, Archives de l'Hist. de France, IV. 19-33; De Thou, xxiv.; La Popelinière Hist., Book vi.; Mezerai, Pierre Mathieu, Brantôme.

² "Il ne faut doubter que sa maiesté, les Roynes, princes, dames et seigneurs furent fort contens et satisfaits." Les Triomphes faictz à l'entrée de François II. et de Marye Stuart au Chasteau de Chenonceau, Réimpression du Prince Galitzin, 18.

³ With reference to her conduct towards the Scots, the King had already addressed the following jeering remark to Elizabeth:—"Qu'il est inaccoustumé que les roys d'Angleterre usent de tant de charité à l'endroit des Escossois, qu'ils hayssioient naturellement, si ce n'estoit plus pour espérance d'en tirer quelque fruit et utilité que pour amytié qu'ils leur portent et envie de les conserver."—Négoc. 324.

lier de Seure was charged to acquaint Elizabeth with the matter. A conference with the minister Cecil being of no effect, he asked an audience, which the Queen of England, more haughty than Mary Stuart had been, reluctantly granted.¹

She sent for him, however, on the following day, and received him with a dejected air, an embarrassed countenance and altered expression.² The ambassador laid open the state of affairs in France, and the views of the Court. She listened to all without interrupting him. Her reply was studied. Protesting sincerity in her intentions and frankness in her friendship, she coldly put forward, one by one, her grievances, and becoming fervid, appealed to God's Judgment regarding the negotiation so badly managed.³ From that, the ambassador believed that the Queen favoured the French Huguenots.⁴

Things in France were on the eve of change. The King had long been pale and sickly, but his health till then had given rise to little anxiety. What was in him merely a defect of constitution was attributed to premature development. Towards the middle of November he fell seriously ill, seized with a violent headache. After trying all remedies, the doctors advised trepanning as the only chance of safety. On so grave an occasion, none of them, unfortunately, remained sufficiently master of himself to risk the operation. Growing weaker every day, the King died on the 5th of December, at the age of seventeen years and ten months, having reigned only seventeen months and a half.⁵

¹ *Négoc.* 539.

² *Négoc.* 540.

³ *Négoc.* 541.

⁴ *Négoc.* 541. De Seure to Cardina de Lorraine, 24th Sept. 1560.

⁵ De Thou, xxvi. There may be seen in Book iii., 225, the insulting words which Knox wrote in his History of the Reformation regarding the death of the young King.

CHAPTER III.

1561.

FUNERAL OF FRANCIS II.—PARTY INTRIGUES—CONDUCT OF CATHERINE DE MÉDICIS—OF MARY STUART—HER MOURNING—HER DISINTERESTEDNESS—SUITORS CONTENDING FOR HER HAND—INTERVIEW WITH BEDFORD—MARY RETIRES TO RHEIMS—NEGOTIATIONS TO MARRY HER TO A SPANISH PRINCE—THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT—ARRIVAL OF LORD JAMES STEWART—HIS UNDERSTANDING WITH CECIL AND ELIZABETH—EXCESSES OF THE REFORMERS—MARY ASKS A SAFE-CONDUCT—ELIZABETH REFUSES IT—THROCKMORTON AND MARY—DEPARTURE AND FAREWELL OF MARY STUART.

DEATH is a great teacher, and much to be pitied is he who understandeth him not. By death the silver cord is loosed which bound the soul and body; in life, interest, caprice and frivolity estrange and part the dearest friends: in either case, he who was lately loved is cruelly forsaken.

Hardly was the King cut off, when ambition set to work. Catherine de Médicis attentively watched the progress of the malady, and with inward joy saw death draw near. Her hope grew day by day, and hour by hour, as the end of the King drew nigh. She longed to reign during the minority of a young son, free from the guardianship of the Guises. On the eve of the King's death, she wrote a purely political letter, in which not a tear was shed over her suffering son.¹

On the morrow a most rueful sight was seen, when the Guises deserted the room of the dead, to rush, after the Médicis, to the Court of the new King, and left to servants the care of the funeral, which, ten days after, was conducted without pomp, by the old Bishop of Senlis.² Mary alone, amid all those ambitious ones, wept, and her tears flowed more freely when she saw her husband forsaken by those who ought to have bewailed him. She spent the whole of the first night beside the body of her consort, and on the following day, to lessen Catherine's jealousy, and show that she renounced all the grandeurs of the throne, handed over the jewels which she had worn as Queen of France.³ She then betook herself to a room of mourning, and there remained, plunged in

¹ Catherine de Médicis to William Desaulx, Sieur de Villefrancon, 4th Dec. 1560. *Négoc.* 730.

² *Négoc.* 735. Note in reference to Guil-

lard, Bishop of Senlis, in the Archives of the Oise.

³ Inventory of the rings of the Crown, certification and receipts. *Négoc.*, 741-744.

grief. Few had access to that chamber of sorrow. The Queen-mother, the King Charles IX., the King of Navarre, the Constable de Montmorency, and her uncles the Princes of Lorraine, alone were admitted to sympathize with her, to the exclusion of every foreign ambassador. She appeared in public only on the 15th, to accompany the body to St Denis.¹

While Mary, entirely given up to mourning, dwelt in silence and in retirement, she was the talk of all Europe. England feared her; Spain, Austria, Sweden, and Denmark sought her alliance. Her conduct after the King's death called forth universal admiration.² She had been seen merry at Court, and now she was known to be sad, grave, reserved, and whiling away her time by putting into verse the story of her sad life. The conduct of the ministers of Francis II. contrasted strongly with that of the young Queen. Visit succeeded visit at Orleans, and Throckmorton reported them faithfully to Elizabeth. The Earl of Bedford was charged by her to offer Mary her condolence. Mary received him most graciously; but at the very first word which had reference to the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, she replied that, removed as she was from her uncles and from the Scottish lords, she could do nothing. That refusal, although formal, was made in terms so pleasing, that the ambassador was struck with admiration in presence of the young Queen.³

That success of Mary brought about her ruin as far as Catherine de Médicis was concerned. Haughty, imperious, and a prey to envy, she could not forget Mary's past glory. She eagerly seized every opportunity of humbling her. In a moment of passion, the Queen of Scots, while Queen of France, had called her a Florentine tradeswoman. From that day the Italian had sworn her ruin, and if she had hidden her anger, it was only that she might the more surely prepare her revenge. The 5th of December was for her a day of triumph; she had at length the power to feed her hatred, and from that moment she took advantage of everything to crush her rival. The rest of the Court did not share her anger; and the young King himself was attached to his sister-in-law. The Italian put an end to that kindly feeling. Mary Stuart, filled with loathing, was driven to set out for Rheims, where her uncle, the Archbishop, and her aunt, the Abbess of

¹ Miss Strickland, I. 139.

² An unknown writer has written from Orleans, at the end of December:—"The Quene of Scotland, her Majestie's cosen, dothe carrye herself so honorably, advisedlye, and discryte-

lye, as I cannot but feare her progresse."—Letter from some unknown person to Sir R. Dudley. Stevenson's *Illustrations*, 84; and Throckmorton, Tytler, III., 138. Edition 1864.

³ *Négoc.* 830; Tytler, III., 143.

St Pierre-les-Dames, lived. Her departure from the Court caused universal regret ; every one appeared sorrowful from her absence ; courtiers spoke their grief in touching elegies ; and the people, obliged to distinguish her from Catherine de Médicis, being no longer able to call her Queen of France, and not wishing to name her merely Queen of Scots, gave her, from her mourning costume, the title of *Reine Blanche*, which allowed her to be still taken for a French queen.¹

A new vista now opened up before the kind though persecuted Mary. Heartily welcomed by the holy maidens of the convent, she soon became as one of themselves ; the peaceful life and the mystic perfume enveloping the people and the place, delighted her extremely. In that gentle solitude she felt happy. There she no longer dreaded the spies of Elizabeth and the Médicis ; she was alone with God, nature and her sisters, surrounded by respect, loved and cherished by all.

It was not Mary's lot long to enjoy that peaceful state ; for parties were endeavouring to draw her again into politics. Spain was the most persistent in its claims ; Philip II., though thwarted, renewed the attack. That prince was the most powerful king in the universe. Master of Spain and the Low Countries ; obeyed by Italy ; strong by his armies, the most powerful of the time ; rich by the spoils of America ; a friend of the Guises and of the English Catholics ; dreaded by Europe, and aspiring to universal monarchy, he wanted but Scotland to crush the English Protestants, and its Queen to adorn the Spanish Court.² Don Carlos was smitten with Mary Stuart, whose rare beauty he knew only from a portrait.³

For several weeks, policy taxed its ingenuity to deceive. Each one acted under a borrowed exterior. Catherine allowed people to believe in an intended marriage between Mary Stuart and Charles IX., while she secretly worked to obtain for her son the hand of a princess of Spain ; the Cardinal, as cunning as Catherine, urged the departure of his niece, all the while detaining her in the hope of wedding her to Don Carlos ; and amid those intrigues, wherein her destiny was at stake, Mary, alone of good faith, yielded with indifference to the wishes of her family.

On the 3d of March Catherine charged her ambassador to bring about quietly the marriage of Don Carlos with the young Margaret, and to break off the one which the Guises had artfully arranged

¹ Chalmers, I., 67 ; Miss Strickland, I., 135.

² Louise de Bretagne to Catherine de Médicis, *Négoc.*, 803.

³ The Catholic Queen to Catherine de Médicis, *Négoc.*, 805.

("*manigancé* ") for Mary Stuart.¹ In the letters of that period, the widow of Francis II. is usually styled *gentilhomme*.² For a moment, Catherine, disquieted by the interest taken in Mary Stuart, fancied she was about to fail. She wrote (1st April) to her ambassador a letter in which her anxiety is clearly seen. "I have fully understood," said she, "the increasing concern taken in the *gentilhomme*, a thing which displeases me so much that I wish and desire that my daughter and you should do all you can to break it off, or bring about delay, if nothing better can be done."³ The Queens of Europe conspired against Mary. Seeing the princess so quiet in the midst of those ambitious struggles, people were at a loss to guess whether she was unaware of those manœuvres, or, having resolved to renounce the throne for ever, she despised them.

The Scottish Parliament did not know what attitude was the right one to assume. The Catholics rejoiced at the hope of recovering their former power; the Protestants, on the contrary, appeared to be displeased and anxious. Elizabeth resolved to cast her influence into the balance while affairs were unsettled. She charged Randolph, her envoy at Edinburgh, to treat with the Scots, to insist upon the common religion which bound the two peoples, to exhort them to join with the princes of Germany against the Pope; to tell them that they should never again find more propitious times to stifle the hatred which had cost so much blood, and strongly to oppose the Queen's marriage with a foreign prince. Those ideas agreed but too well with the designs of the Protestant lords; they were welcomed with evident marks of sympathy, and settled the line of conduct to be followed for the future in equivocal circumstances.⁴

After the session of Parliament, each party sent its deputies to Queen Mary. The Catholics offered her their love and their swords, and begged her soon to land at Aberdeen, where there would be an army of twenty thousand men. Mary thanked the envoys, and re-

¹ Catherine de Médicis to l'Aubespine, Né-goc., 818.

² Cheruel, Marie Stuart et Catherine de Médicis, 20; Né-goc., 784, 823.

³ "J'ay bien au long entendu le goust que l'on commence à prendre par delà du gentilhomme, chose qui me desplaît tant que je veulx et desire que madame ma fille (la Princesse Elizabeth d'Espagne) et vous fassiez tout ce qui vous sera possible pour rompre ce coup, et le faire tomber à l'attente si mieulx ne se peult."

—Catherine de Médicis to l'Aubespine, 1st April, and letter of the same to the Catholic Queen; Né-goc., 844 and 862. The autograph part of the letter of the 3d January is most energetic; Catherine there calls his alliance a "*mauves desayn*."—Bibliot. de Rouen, MS., Portfolio E., No. 5731.

⁴ Haynes' Collection of State Papers, 366 sq.; Cecil's Memorial to Randolph; State Papers, Scotland, Queen Elizabeth, Vol. VI.

plied that she wished for peace, and that she did not need an army. Lesley, afterwards Bishop of Ross, who represented the Catholics of Scotland, warned her of the underhand dealings of her brother, Lord James; she tendered him her thanks.¹

Lord James arrived a few days later. The candid Mary felt extreme pleasure in seeing him again, and received him with quite a sisterly affection. Lord James returned, as best he could, the affectionate greeting. He told her that the Scots awaited her return; that her presence among them was very necessary, as the country was divided, and a prey to anarchy. He swore fidelity and devotedness to her. Those words reassured the Queen, for in France people were very far from agreeing as to its being safe for her to return to Scotland. Some, to dissuade her, urged the difficulties of the journey, the wild nature of the Scots, the ills they had at every period brought upon their sovereigns, the history of herself, of her family, filled with disorders and murders, her ancestors killed, and her mother unfortunate, even until her death,—unhappy country, where neither honour nor life was safe. Similar words were in the mouths of all. Others again, expressed opinions different, according to their intelligence or their interests. Mary was glad to be informed by a man who knew how matters stood, and one, too, of her own family. She thanked him cordially, and ingenuously told him her projects for the future. “At least,” said Lord James to her, smiling, “I should think you will make me Earl of Moray.” “We shall see about that,” replied the Queen graciously, “when I get to Scotland.” Lord James left, assuring her that he was going to prepare the country for her arrival.² But the wretch was playing into the hands of Elizabeth.³ He repeated to Elizabeth and her minister his conversations with Mary, revealed the secrets of his youthful sister, and advised the English government to oppose the return of the Queen of Scots.⁴

In spite of those numerous steps, nothing, however, was settled with

¹ *Leslæi de Rebus Scoticis*, x., 574, 575.

² Buchanan xvii., 4, 5; Samuel Jebb. *The Life of Mary*, 73.

³ *Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary*, 78.

⁴ Chalmers, III, 356 sq.; Tytler, III, 146-148; “You shall sie,” says the abbreviator of Lord Herries on the subject, “a way laid to intercept her persone, but it failed; you shall sie him afterwards cross her in her marriage; then he shall be the cause of division betwixt

her and her husband, to evite succession; you shall sie him have a hand in David Riccio’s slaughter, in the Queen’s chamber (when she was great with child), in hope of abortion; you shall sie him have hand in the murther of her husband, the King; in her marriage with Bothwell; and all that followed, till she was banished the kingdome; and what wold have become of her sone King James, if he had lived himselfe, many were doubtfull.” —Herries’ *Memoirs*, 54.

the Scots. The Queen was anxious to learn her real position before embarking. She sent Gilles de Noailles to Scotland, to renew the alliance which had always existed betwixt France and Scotland, to break with England, and restore to the Catholic clergy their lands and properties.¹ The Scottish lords delayed their reply until the arrival of Lord James; when they had his advice, they answered that they were not aware of ever having broken the alliance, that the fault lay entirely with the French, who had on several occasions done all they could to drive them back into slavery; that to break with England was to pay kindness with ingratitude, and try to ruin their benefactors and deliverers; that the Catholic priests had nothing to claim, as neither their religion nor their authority was acknowledged, and no doubt in order to show that they had firmly resolved upon the last point, they ordered all the remaining monasteries to be destroyed. They intended to stop at that; but the rabble once let loose, rushed upon all churches without distinction. It was a complete pillage; the movables and ornaments were broken, the bells and consecrated vessels sold by auction, and whole libraries cast into the flames. The rage for destruction, fed by its very ravages, soon knew no bounds; monuments were overthrown, as if to annihilate religion and the remembrances which made it dear, and through an excess of zeal, at which a savage might have blushed, graves were violated, and the ashes of the dead scattered to the winds. The Protestant clergy, instead of checking the fury of the crowd, delighted in encouraging it; they said "that by the law of God the places where Idols had been worship'd ought to be destroy'd, and that the sparing of them was the reserving an accursed thing." Those words often repeated were followed by greater devastations, and those poor people, tired of demolishing, gloried in their sacrileges as in so many good works, and believed they deserved favour from on high for destroying buildings which had been consecrated to God, but which, by a deplorable confusion of terms, they called the temples of idols.²

That wild behaviour produced a disagreeable impression upon the Queen; she loathed to go and spend the rest of her life amid that turbulent people, and she often said that she would like a hundred times better to remain in France, a simple dowager, than sit upon a throne in Scotland.³ Yet as Catherine de Médicis did not cease to

¹ De Thou, Book xxix. Bishop Keith, 159.

² Samuel Jebb, 74-75. Bishop Keith, 503.

³ "Je luy ay veu dire souuent, et appré-

hender comme la mort ce voyage: et desiroit cent fois mieux de demeurer en France simple douairière et se contenter de son

humble her, she resolved to leave France. Through d'Oysel she caused Elizabeth to be informed of her intention, begging her to grant her a safe-conduct for herself and her attendants. Elizabeth would not grant the request, and would not at first give audience to Mary's envoy;¹ and if at a later period she did at length depart from that first sternness, it was only to load her rival's messenger with abuse. Already hurt by the Scottish Parliament and the affronts of Catherine de Médicis, Mary bitterly felt the refusal, a thing unheard of among friendly princes. When Throckmorton came to intimate the will of his mistress, and give her the reason for such strange treatment, which, in his opinion, the constant refusal to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh amply justified, Mary listened to him throughout, and then sending away the persons around her, said to him: "Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I know not well my own infirmity, nor how far I may with my passion be transported, but I like not to have so many witnesses of my passions, as the Queen your Mistriss was content to have, when she talked with Monsieur d'Oysel; there is nothing that doth more grieve me, then that I did so forget myself, as to require of the Queen your Mistriss, that favour which I had no need to ask; I needed no more to have made her privy to my Journey, then she doth me of hers; I may pass well enough home into my own Realm, I think, without her Passport or License; for though the late King your master used all the impeachment he could both to stay me, and catch me when I came hither, yet you know, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I came hither safely, and I may have as good means to help me home again, as I had to come hither, if I would employ my Friends: Truly (said she) I was so far from evil meaning to the Queen your Mistriss, that at this time I was more willing to employ her Amity to stand me instead, than all the Friends I have; and yet you know, both in this Realm and elsewhere, I have both Friends and Allies, and such as would be glad and willing to employ both their Forces and Aid to stand me instead; you have, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur (quoth she), oftentimes told me that the Amity between the Queen your Mistriss and me, were very necessary and profitable for us both; I have some reason now to think that the Queen your Mistriss is not of that mind; for I am sure, if she were, she would not have refused me thus unkindly; it seemeth she maketh more account of the amity of my disobedient subjects, than she doth of me, their Sovereign, who am her equal in degree, though

Touraine et Poictou pour son douaire
donné à elle, que d'aller regner en ces Pays
Sauuages." Brantôme, Jebb II. 482.

¹ Illustrations of the reign of Queen Mary,
89. Hardwicke Papers, 172, sq.

inferiour in Wisdome and experience, her nighest kinswoman, and her next neighbour; and trou you that there can be so good meaning between my subjects and her, which have forgotten their principal duty to me their Sovereign, as there should be betwixt her and me? I perceive that the Queen your Mistriss doth think, that because my subjects have done me wrong, my Friends and Allies will forsake me also; indeed your Mistriss doth give me cause to seek friendship where I did not mind to ask it; but Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, let the Queen your Mistriss think that it will be thought very strange amongst all Princes and Countries, that she should first animate my subjects against me, and now being widow, to impeach my going into my own country: I ask her nothing but friendship; I do not trouble her State, nor practise with her subjects; and yet I know there be in her Realm that be inclined enough to hear offers; I know also they be not of the mind she is of, neither in Religion, nor other things. The Queen your Mistriss does say that I am young, and do lack experience; indeed I confess, I am yonger then she is, and do want experience: but I have age enough and experience to use my self towards my friends and kinsfolks friendly and uprightly; and I trust my discretion shall not so fail me, that my passion shall move me to use other language of her then it becometh of a Queen, and my next kinswoman. Well, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I could tell you that I am as she is, a Queen allied and friended, as is known; and I tell you also, that my heart is not inferiour to hers, so as an equal respect would be had betwixt us on both parts; but I will not contend in comparisons."

"First you know," quoth she, "that the accord was made in the late King, my Lord and Husband's time, by whom, as reason was, I was commanded and governed; and for such delays as were then in his time used in the said ratification, I am not to be charged; since his Death, my Interest failing in the realm of France, I left to be advised by the Councel of France, and they left me also to mine own Councel; indeed, my Unkles being, as you know, of the affairss of this Realm, do not think meet to advise me in my affairs; neither do my subjects, nor the Queen your Mistriss, think meet that I should be advised by them, but rather by the Councel of my own Realm; here are none of them, nor none such as is thought meet that I should be counselled by: the matter is great, it toucheth both them and me, and in so great a matter it were meet to use the advice of the wisest of them. I do not think it meet in so great a matter to take the counsel of private and unexpert persons, and such as the Queen your Mistriss knoweth be not most

acceptable to such of my subjects as she would have me be advised by. I have oftentimes told you that as soon as I had their advices, I would send the Queen your Mistriss such an answer as should be reasonable; I am about to haste me home as fast as I may, to the intent the matter might be answered; and now the Queen your Mistriss will in no wise suffer neither me to pass home, nor him that I sent into my Realm;¹ so as, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, it seemeth the Queen your Mistriss will be the cause why in this manner she is not satisfied, or else she will not be satisfied; but liketh to make this matter a quarrel still betwixt us, whereof she is the author. The Queen your Mistriss saith that I am young; she might as well say, that I were as foolish as young, if I would in the state and countrey that I am in proceed to such a matter of myself without any Counsel; for that which was done by the King, my late Lord and Husband, must not be taken to be my act, so as neither in Honour nor in Conscience, I am bound, as you say I am, to perform all that I was by my Lord and Husband commanded to do; and yet I will say truly unto you, and as God favours me, I did never mean otherwise unto her than becometh me to my good sister and cousin, nor meant her no more harm than to myself; God forgive them which have otherwise perswaded her, if there be any such."

"What is the matter, pray you, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur," quoth she, "that doth so offend the Queen, your Mistriss, to make her thus evil-affected to me? I never did her wrong, neither in deed nor speech; it should the less grieve me if I had deserved otherwise than well; and though the world may be of divers judgements of us and our doings one to another, I do well know, God that is in heaven can and will be a true Judg, both of our doings and meanings." "Madame," answered the ambassador, "I have declared unto you my charge commanded by the Queen, my Mistriss, and have no more to say to you on her behalf, but to know your answer for the Ratification of the Treaty." The Queen returns: "I have aforetime shewed you, and do now tell you again, that it is not meet for to proceed in this matter without the advice of the Nobles and States of mine own Realm, which I can by no means have until I come amongst them. You know as well as I, there is none come hither since the death of the King, my late Husband and Lord, but such as are either come for their private business, or such as dare not tarry in Scotland. But, I pray you, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, tell me how riseth this strange affection in

¹ Queen Mary asked to send d'Oysel into Scotland.

the Queen, your Mistriss, towards me? I desire to know it, to the intent I may reform myself if I have failed." The ambassador replied that all Elizabeth's displeasure arose from the bad will which refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. Mary added that it was impossible for her to do so at that time, and she dismissed the ambassador, begging him to behave himself as a good minister, "whose part it is to make things betwixt princes rather better than worse."¹

Without further thinking about the difficulties of the journey, Mary actively prepared for her departure. Yet, in order to be clear of self-reproach, she desired Throckmorton to meet her at Abbeville, and asked him again, what must be done to please Elizabeth. "Confirm," said the ambassador, "the Treaty of Edinburgh, as I have more than once told your Majestie." "I desire you to hear me," replied the Queen, "and then judge whether they be not very cogent reasons which the Queen, your royal Mistriss, takes for vain excuses and delays. The first article in that treaty, for confirming the Truce of Cambray, does not in the least concern me. The II., which relates to signing the Treaty there made, between the English and Scots, was ratified by my Husband and myself, and cannot be repeated, unless in my name only, whereas my Husband is expressly nam'd therein. The III., IV., and V. articles are already answered and fulfilled, for there are no farther warlike preparations; the French garrisons are remanded from Scotland, the fort at Aymouth is razed to the ground. I have, since my Husband's death, quitted the Arms and Title of England; to raze and strike them out of all the moveables, buildings, and charters in France is a thing no way in my power; and 'tis more than I can do, to send back the Bishops of Valence and Randan, who are no subjects of mine, into England, to appear at a conference about the VI. article. As for the last article, I hope my rebell subjects will not complain of any great severity towards them. But your Mistriss, I perceive, designs to prevent any proofs I might show of a merciful disposition towards them, by resolving to hinder my return. What is there now behind in this treaty that can any way prejudice the affairs of your Mistriss? Nevertheless, to give her the fullest satisfaction I can, I design to write to her about those matters with my own hand, tho' she would not vouchsafe me an answer but by her Secretary. But I would advise you, who are an ambassador, to act suitably to that character; I mean rather to qualify and compose matters, than to aggravate and make them worse."²

¹ Cabala, 375 sq.; Bishop Keith, 172 sq.

² Bishop Keith, 177, 178; Spottiswoode, II., 5, 6; Samuel Jebb, 77.

No longer hoping for anything from Elizabeth, she submitted to fate. On the 21st of July, she declared to Throckmorton that nothing could shake her purpose. "I trust," quoth she, "the wind will be so favourable, as I shall not need to come on the coast of England; and if I do, then, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, the Queen your Mistriss shall have me in her hands to do her will of me; and if she be so hard-hearted as to desire my end, she may then do her pleasure, and make sacrifice of me. Peradventure, that casualty might be better for me than to live; in this matter God's will be fulfilled."¹

The vessels which were to take Mary to Scotland were soon ready. The Duke de Guise, the Cardinals de Lorraine and Guise, accompanied their niece as far as Calais. The Duke d'Aumale, the Grand Prior, and the Marquis d'Elbeuf, Damville, Strozzi, la Noue, la Guiche, Chastelard and Brantôme, were of her retinue as far as Scotland. On the point of sailing, all looked anxious; the travellers gazed with apprehension upon the expanse of ocean: it was known that Elizabeth, urged on by the intrigues of Lord James and Lethington, had sent several ships to seize the French flotilla, and all eyes scanned the far horizon for the English sails.²

The wind blew fresh, the sea was not very rough; the Duke d'Aumale gave the signal to set sail. Mary embraced her uncles a last time, bade them farewell with tears, and went on board. The moments were sad when she was borne away from her beloved France. Leaning over the side of the ship, she wept, and exclaimed, "Adieu, France, Adieu!" At night-fall she would not go below, but ordered a bed to be prepared for her on deck, telling the pilot to waken her at daybreak. The night was calm; the wind, which had gone down with the sun, was dying away with the twilight, and the ship lay almost motionless. Wearied out by her tears, and by the emotions of the day, Mary slept until morning. The pilot awakened her at the dawn. The sky, cloudy the day before, was now cloudless. Mary arose hurriedly; for a long time her eyes, bedimmed with tears, were on the coast of France. The sunrise disclosed to view the masses of chalky cliffs in the distance. The Queen was affected by the magic spectacle. She was wrapped in thought, and seemed to forget those around her. That sun gilding the distant and beloved land, no doubt made the parting more keen. She looked for an English sail in the offing to force them to return and seek shelter in the port whence they had sailed, but that mishap did not befall them.

¹ Bishop Keith, 176; Cabala, 378.

² Prince Labanoff, IV., 27.

By degrees the outlines grew fainter and more faint ; nothing now could be seen, save here and there the points of the white cliffs. A sudden end was put to Mary's musing ; the sad reality forced itself upon her : France is no longer in view. " Adieu, adieu, France," she exclaimed, with outstretched arms ; " Adieu, Oh France, I shall never see thee more !" Overcome by grief, her heart broken by regrets and cares, and her mind racked by the thought of the future, she stood for a time in a trance, and the gentlemen of her suite could with difficulty arouse her.

Mary arrived at Leith after a voyage of a few days. A thick mist settled down upon the sea on the morning after she set sail, and hid her from the English fleet which was cruising before Berwick.

The jewel of the Court of France was gone ; the poets bewailed her as their protectress and genius, and Ronsard, who had known her well, expressed in touching verses these words of adieu :—

Le jour que vostre voile aux vents se recourba
Et de nos yeux pleurants les vostres déroba,
Ce jour-là même voile emporta loin de France
Les muses qui souloient y faire demourance.

Comment pourroient chanter les bouches des poëtes
Quand, par vostre départ, les Muses sont muettes ?
Tout ce qui est de beau ne se garde longtemps :
Les roses et les lys ne règnent qu'un printemps.
Ainsi vostre beauté, seulement apparue
Quinze ans en nostre France, est soudain disparue
Comme on voit d'un éclair s'évanouir le trait,
Et d'elle n'a laissé sinon que le regret,
Sinon le déplaisir qui me remet sans cesse
Au cœur le souvenir d'une telle princesse.

J' enverray mes pensers qui volent comme oiseaux ;
Par eux je revoiray sans danger, à toute heure
Cette belle princesse et sa belle demeure :
Et là pour tout jamais je voudray séjourner,
Car d'un lieu si plaisant on ne peut retourner.

Brantôme relates that Prince Charles, when grown up, often looked on a portrait of Mary Stuart, and shed tears, saying that his brother had been very happy, though short lived, as he had been wedded to Mary Stuart.¹

¹ Brantôme, Discours sur Marie Stuart.

CHAPTER IV.

1561—1563.

ARRIVAL OF MARY—HER RECEPTION—STATE OF RELIGION IN SCOTLAND—THE PRIVY COUNCIL—LORD JAMES DIVIDES WITH LETHINGTON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE KINGDOM—MARY'S CONVERSATIONS WITH KNOX—BRUTALITY OF THE REFORMER—LETTER TO ELIZABETH—PREMEDITATED INTERVIEW—MADNESS OF THE EARL OF ARRAN—REBELLION OF HUNTLY AND THE GORDONS—MARY IN THE FIELD—LORD JAMES CREATED EARL OF MORAY—CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT AT COURT AND IN THE COUNTRY—DEATH OF CHASTELARD—DEATH OF THE DUKE DE GUISE.

ON the first rumour of the Queen's arrival, the nobility and people flocked to see her. Curiosity drove some, ambition others; sympathy also touched more than one heart. The effect produced by the sight of the Queen was wondrous. This young girl, born into the world amidst strife and woe, from her birth a prey to the fury of the parties who fought to get her, forced, when quite a child, to quit her native country for a kinder realm, freed with difficulty from the snares of England, seated for a moment on an illustrious throne, happy in a noble alliance, then suddenly cast down from that throne to weep over a coffin; this Queen, admired, caressed and hated, an unfortunate widow at nineteen, was indeed likely to excite heartfelt emotion. Her whole life, a vast picture, lay unrolled before the world.¹

Her beauty and her gentleness, together with her many misfortunes, increased the enthusiasm on her arrival. She was approachable to all, smiled upon them, spoke to them, and for the most part bound them to her.² She was proud of her conquests. By nature frank and loyal, she fancied every one like herself. Cruel disappointments were to prove throughout her life that such was not the case. The Scottish nobility were masters of dissimulation; ever since the introduction of Protestantism those proud Lords were far from particular as to how they got rid of their opponents.³ Those brigand habits had gradually given

¹ Hollinshed, II., 314, 315.

² The Queen's entrance into Edinburgh is told at length by the anonymous author of the "Diurnal of Occurrents," 67, sq.—"Elle s'efforçoit de se rendre agréable," says Castelnau, "et de contenter autant qu'il luy estoit possible, aussi bien les petits que les grands."

Mémoires de Castelnau, iii. Jebb II. 455.

³ Those who may think the picture overdrawn are desired to peruse the "Diurnal of Occurrents;" I am not aware that there is in the world any other country which so delighted in massacre.

them a fierce nature; their costume was uncouth and shapeless; the horses which they rode were small, thin and poor; what they fancied to be music was shrill and discordant: things which grated harshly on the feelings of the refined Queen. It was no longer Fontainebleau nor St Germain. Those personages, apparently more savage than honest, could not be compared to the polished knights of the French Court. All tended then to prejudice Mary against her new subjects.¹

An event of little moment completed her dislike, and almost provoked a bloody strife. The Protestants had asked to be allowed to worship God according to their own forms, and, having gained strength, wished to force the Catholics to change their rites; they had obtained liberty of conscience, and sought to deprive others of it.² By a decree, the celebration of mass was forbidden. Those of the Catholics, who would not apostatize, were driven to the woods and mountains, and, amid the silent wilds, freely raised towards heaven their suppliant hands and implored from God courage to act up to their convictions.³

The royal family alone was exempt from that decree. One day, while Mary was at mass in her private chapel, a fanatic dared in the presence of his sovereign to break the cierges, stop the celebration, and blaspheme against the form of worship and the worshippers. In his excessive zeal he would, but for Lord James, have torn to pieces the priest, and destroyed the consecrated vessels. That mad deed gives a fair idea of the state of the public mind on Mary Stuart's arrival.⁴

Those who accuse Mary do not perhaps give enough attention to her conduct on her landing in Scotland. They are satisfied to slander her without busying themselves in searching for the cause of the disorders which were brought about during her life. There were horrible things under her reign, as all know; but is it fair to lay the blame of them *à priori* upon her who was at the head of the Government? Very different was she from that Mary Stuart whom some writers depict more as a woman than as a queen, born rather to shine at a court than govern a state. On gaining power she did what it was possible for her to do. Her people were divided, she took no side; a Catholic in the very depths of her soul, she was a queen, and hence she loved her subjects without distinction.⁵ She chose for Privy Council the Duke

¹ Brantôme, Discours sur Marie Stuart; Tuelet, IV., 80.

² Teulet, IV., 80.

³ Randolph to Cecil, 1st May, Bishop Keith, 239; Tytler, III., 172.

⁴ De Thou, xxix.: Buchanan, xvii., 9; Spotiswoode, II., 8.

⁵ "Nihil immutaturam se de præsentis religionis reique publicæ statu juravit." Blackwood, Pro Regibus Apologia, c. xxvi., 137. "She

of Chatelleraut, the Earls of Huntly, Arran, Bothwell, Errol, Marshall, Athole, Morton, Glencairn and William Montrose; she made Lord James what would now be called Prime Minister, and Lethington, Secretary of State.¹ By that very act Mary accepted her kingdom as it was, and chose from among the nobility the most worthy members without regard to their religion. In place of resting upon a single party, Catholic or Protestant, like Elizabeth, Mary took from both in the hope of reconciling them; not that the Protestants were dear to her at heart; but to surround herself by Catholics only, would have been to court civil war, and the Queen was averse to the shedding of blood; with a view to peace she had more Protestants than Catholics in her council.

At times power foolishly gives way to evil doers, and they, in consequence, grow bolder; there are persons who take kindness for weakness, and, believing so, become more audacious. Knox was one of that kind; his conferences with Queen Mary are celebrated. While Scotland was rejoicing at the coming of her Queen, he was sounding the charge against idolatry. His speeches were fiery and vehement; to him, mass was more formidable than ten thousand enemies.² His word, heard by a seditious mob, drove it to all excesses. People blasphemed in order to obtain the good graces of Christ; they besought in prayer strength from God to be able to do murder. So great was the agitation that heaven seemed to be in danger. Every one was nobly zealous to overthrow idolatry. High-born and low-born vied with one another; Holyrood itself was threatened. A troop of fanatics, with Patrick Lindsay at their head, went singing psalms as far as the gates of the palace, with the object of getting rid of the Queen and the priests who were about her; they repeated to one another the saying of their chief, that an idolater was worthy of death; but for the energy of Lord James, great misfortunes must have ensued, and the war-cry would have followed the chanting of the Canticles.³

condescended that no change nor alteration should be made in the present state of religion; only she would use her own service, as she said, apart with her family, and have a mass in private. . . . The preachers in their sermons did publicly condemn that toleration as unlawful."—Spottiswoode, II., 71.—"She used her subjects," says Sanderson, "with all curtesie, and changed not those of the *Reformed Religion*."—Sanderson, 5; Wiesener, *Marie Stuart et le Comte de Bothwell*, 27.

¹ "This (Lethington) is he that deserted (the) Queen Regent and joynd with the Congrega-

tion, and divulged her projects; one whome these factious nobilitie intended now to make use of to kindle that flame of dissention and jealousie betwixt these two princes (Elizabeth and Mary) which never was quenched but by the blood of Queen Marie."—Herries' *Memoirs*, 57; Prince Labanoff, I., 102, pronounces just as severe a judgment upon him.

² Knox, *Reform.*, iv., 250.

³ Knox, *Reform.*, iv.—The Earl of Arran was of that opinion when he said: "Since that God has said 'that the idolater shall die the death,' we protest solemnly, in presence of

Sad must be the condition of a State when the several parties struggle against authority; but the misfortune is greatest when the magistracy sides with the rioters, sympathises with them, and rouses instead of soothing them. That is what happened soon after Patrick Lindsay's expedition. The Town Council of Edinburgh, at the instigation of Archibald Douglas, decreed the expulsion of "monks, nuns, priests, drunkards, adulterers and fornicators," allowing them twenty-four hours to leave the town. That furious decree was set aside by the members of the Queen's Council, and the authors of it were dismissed. Deafening recriminations arose on all sides; the Government held fast, and the seditious profited by that misadventure to say that the Queen winked at evil doings.¹ The human mind was so perverted that the Christian pulpit became a tribune whence each could launch his fury. On all sides were heard mad declaimers who noisily vented their wrath, and threatened to give up to the gallows the trembling Catholics.² At the head of all, Knox showed himself indefatigable, brutal and turbulent, aspiring to regicide, and urged on, as it were, by an inconceivable hatred. He detested Mary with a religious frenzy. "His prayer is daily for her," wrote Randolph, "that God will turn her heart obstinate against God and his truth; or if the Holy Will be otherwise, to strengthen the hearts and hands of his chosen and Elect, stoutly to withstand the rage of all tyrands, et cætera, in words terrible enough."³ From him the strange idea proceeds to present the keys of Edinburgh Castle to the Queen between a Bible and a psalter, to the accompaniment of the threatening and symbolic show of the torture of Korah, Dathan, and Abiron, while priests raising the Host above a burning stake were to

God, and in the ears of the whole people . . . that if any of her (Queen's) servants shall commit idolatry, specially say mass, participate therewith, or take the defence thereof . . . that this (Queen's) proclamation be not extend to them in that behalf, nor be a safeguard nor girth (protection) to them in that behalf, no more than if they commit slaughter or murder, seeing the one is much more abominable and odious in the sight of God, than is the other."—Knox, *Reform.*, iv., 249.

¹ Bishop Keith, 192; Knox, *Reform.*, iii., 255; "A proclamation commanding and charging all and syndry monks, freris, priestis and all utheris papistis and prophane persones, to pas furth of Edinburgh within xxiiij houris next efter following, under the payne of burnying of disobeyaris upoun the cheik, and harling of

thame throw the town in ane cart."—*Diurnal of Occur.*, 69.—Those who boast the tolerance of the Protestant spirit and consider the Reformation as an emancipation ought to ponder upon this note and upon other similar ones. I read in the same *Diurnal*, 340, that a Protestant minister, known by the name of Dr Handie, taken in the act of adultery, was acquitted the first time because he was "ane greit seikar and apprehendar of all priestis and papistis." When the Presbyterians called the Queen "protectress of adulterers," the compliment might have been returned.

² "He (Arran) wished all the Papists in Scotland hang'd."—Keith, 204; Knox, *Reform.*, iv., 250.

³ Randolph to Cecil, 24th Oct. 1561.

add life to the scene. It was, however, represented only in a picture on a triumphal arch erected for the occasion.¹

Instead of throwing Knox into prison, as he deserved, Mary tried to gain him over. She admired his courage, and had more than once deplored that such energy should be devoted to error. She tried to bring him back to Catholicism, if that were possible, or at least to keep him in check, and hinder him from inveighing against all authority.

The interview was little edifying. Knox flew into a towering passion, and, towards the end, acted more like a wild beast than a preacher of the Gospel. Mary reproached him with urging her subjects to revolt by communicating to them his work on the government of women, adding that his opinion was hazardous and disputable.² "I hear," replied Knox, "that an Englishman hath written against it, but I have not read him;" and he congratulated himself upon having written it. While speaking of the work, Mary fairly entered upon the leading principle and gave Knox a chance of explaining himself. "Then," said she, "you think I have no just authority?" Knox, somewhat puzzled, got out of his difficulty by subtle distinctions into which he introduced Plato and his Republic. For a time confused by his amiable and sound adversary, he at length confessed that the book did not attack all women; but that it had been written to show up the late Queen of England; that, for his part, he should live dutiful to his Queen, as long as she did not dip her hands in the blood of the saints, and that he should obey her as St Paul obeyed Nero. "But," interrupted Mary, "ye speak of women in general."—"Most true it is, Madam," said the other, "and yet it appeareth to me that wisdom should persuade your grace, never to raise trouble for that, which to this day has not troubled your Majesty, neither in person nor in authority." That reason, though not very powerful, was wise; seeing that the book existed, it was useless to pick a quarrel about it; any step in that direction being henceforth superfluous, the best thing was to let the subject drop. Mary apparently thought so, for she began: "But yet, ye have taught the people to receive another religion than their princes can allow; and how can that doctrine be of God, seeing that

¹ Von Raumer, Contributions to Modern History, 11; Bishop Keith, 189; Herries' Memoirs, 56.

² Elizabeth Bell, according to Sheriff Henry Glassford Bell, treated Knox with less ceremony when she caused Cecil to write to him: "Mr Knox! Mr Knox! Mr Knox! there is

neither male nor female; all are one in Christ, saith Paul. Blessed is the man who confides in the Lord! I need to wish you no more prudence than God's grace whereof God sent you plenty."—William Cecil to Knox, Bell I., 131.

God commands subjects to obey their princes?"—"If all the seed of Abraham," said he, "should have been of the religion of Pharaoh, to whom they were long subjects, I pray you, Madam, what religion should there have been in the world? For, if all men, in the days of the Apostles, should have been of the religion of the Roman Emperors, what religion should have been upon the face of the earth? Daniel and his fellows were subjects to Nebuchadnezzar, and unto Darius, and yet, Madam, they would not be of their religion."—"Yea," said she, "none of those men raised the sword against their princes."—"Yet, madam," said he, "ye cannot deny but that they resisted; for these that obey not the commandments that are given, in some sort they resist."—"But yet," said she, "they resisted not by the sword."—"God," said he, "Madam, had not given unto them the power and the means."—"Think ye," said she, "that subjects having power may resist their princes?"—"If their princes exceed their bounds, Madam," said he, "and do against that wherefore they should be obeyed, it is no doubt but they may be resisted, even by power; for there is neither greater honour, nor greater obedience to be given to kings and princes, than God has commanded to be given to father and mother; but so it is, that the father may be stricken with a frenzy, in the which he would slay his own children. Now, Madam, if the children arise, join themselves together, apprehend the father, take the sword and other weapons from him, and finally bind his hands, and keep him in prison, till that his frenzy be overpast; think ye, Madam, that the children do any wrong? Or think ye, Madam, that God will be offended with them that have stayed their father to commit wickedness? It is even so, Madam," said he, "with princes that would murder the children of God that are subjects unto them. Their blind zeal is nothing but a very mad frenzy; and, therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till that they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because that it agreeth with the will of God."

The imposing presence of Knox, his unheard of doctrine and his severe tone, so paralysed the Queen that she stood speechless. At length she broke silence: "Well," said she, ironically, "I perceive that my subjects shall obey you and not me; and shall do what they list, and not what I command; and so must I be subject to them, and not they to me." "God forbid," answered he, "that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me,¹ or yet to set subjects at liberty to do what

¹ There may be seen in Sanderson, 32, a dictatorial act which belies that humble protestation.

pleases them. But my travail is, that both princes and subjects obey God. . . . yea, God craves of kings that they be, as it were, foster-fathers to his Kirk, and commands queens to be nurses unto his people." "Yea," said she, "but ye are not the Kirk that I will nurse. I will defend the Kirk of Rome, for it is, I think, the true Kirk of God." Knox exclaimed angrily: "Your will, Madam, is no reason; neither doth your thought make that Roman harlot to be the true and immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ." That sally made him bolder; he offered to prove that the Roman Church was but a receptacle of impurities, a society a thousand times more degraded than the ancient synagogue which condemned Jesus. Mary waited patiently until he had finished those invectives, and then urged her conscience against him, "Conscience, Madam," said he, "requires knowledge, and I fear that right knowledge you have none." "But," said she, "I have both heard and read—" "So did," exclaimed Knox, "the Jews who crucified Jesus, read both the law and the prophets, and heard the same interpreted after their manner;" then in a conceited and scornful tone: "Have ye heard," said he, "any teach, but such as the Pope and the Cardinals have allowed." "Ye interpret the Scriptures in one manner," observed the Queen, "and they in another; whom shall I believe, and who shall be judge?" The argument was unanswerable. Knox uttered a few more emphatic words taken from the Bible, and went away praying God to bless the Queen of Scotland, as He had blessed Deborah in Israel. "The Queen," said the reformer, after this discussion, "had a proud mind, a crafty wit and an indurate heart."¹

Such, in substance, was the famous interview between the most learned and most elegant princess in the world, and the coarsest and most fanatic man of the period. Protestantism here is seen in its true colours. While permitting free thinking, Knox and the other reformers paved the way for revolution. The leading characteristic of Protestantism in Scotland is the equality of its members; all ecclesiastical and civil authority disappears; the subjects have the right to cast down their princes as they did their bishops, when those princes overstep the bounds of their authority. Under a seeming equity that doctrine conceals an enormous irregularity, and if ever it were acted upon, crowned heads would be seen falling daily. A King would be a

¹ Knox, Reform., iv., Sanderson, 26. Mr Hosack makes the curious remark that Mary was wrong in being right. "Since then," says that ingenious writer, "Knox's egotism

seems to have been wounded by his discomfiture, for it is certain that he ever afterwards regarded Mary with feelings of personal hostility." Mary and her Accusers, 75.

victim consigned to an early grave. That end must be the natural effect of the principles laid down, for admitting Knox's doctrine, who could hinder a man bent upon killing his king? Free thinking necessarily entails liberty of action, for without that, free thinking is but an empty name, and freedom of action once acknowledged, there is no longer any limit, any rule, or any curb. In politics as in religion, freedom of opinion must not be given, else disorder may be expected.

All grant that Mary, in her conversation with Knox, showed a wisdom and a majesty greater than ever the gruff sectarian had; that is the testimony which Lethington bore in a letter to Cecil: "You know," said he, "the vehemency of Mr Knox's spirit, which cannot be bridled, I could wish he would deal with her more gently, being a young princess unpersuaded. For this I am accounted too politic; but surely in her comporting with him, she doth declare a wisdom far exceeding her age. God grant her the assistance of His Spirit; surely I see in her a good towardness."

Surrounded by enemies and malcontents, the poor Queen did not know how to quiet and satisfy them. Knox became more and more haughty; he skilfully availed himself of every chance to cry down his sovereign; he looked with suspicion on her books and her dress; her mode of life, her field sports, her music, even her charity made her suspected. His austere and surly nature could not bear to see the princess cheerful. He declared from the pulpit that conduct so scandalous would bring down God's vengeance not only upon such worldly women, but upon the whole kingdom.² Mary's kindliness and grace made him spiteful. She again tried several times to soften him, but without success; he never threw away a chance of upholding the power of private individuals against kings; "Samuel," said he, "feared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate King of Amalec, whom King Saul had saved; neither spared Elias Jezebel's false prophets, and Baal's priests, albeit that King Ahab was present. Phineas was no magistrat, and yet feared he not to strike Cosbi and Zimri in the very act of filthy fornication. And so, Madam, your grace may see that others than chief magistrates may lawfully punish, and have punished the vices and crimes that God commands to be punished."³

¹ Lethington to Cecil, 25th Oct. 1561.—Tytler, III., 155.

² Knox, Reform., iv., 301, et passim.

³ Knox, Reform., iv., 284. Knox, as may be seen, always liked to mention those great crimes in presence of the Queen, just as if

she had been guilty of them. One might find the reason for it and explain that conduct, which prejudiced or thoughtless writers describe as strong. Besides, the reader perhaps already knows, that at the age of fifty-eight he was thinking of wedding a young girl of

Affected by Knox's stubbornness, the Queen one day said candidly to him, "If ye hear anything of myself that mislikes you, come to myself and tell me, and I shall hear you." "I am called, Madam," replied Knox, "to a public function within the Kirk of God, and am appointed by God to rebuke the sins and vices of all, I am not appointed to come to every man in particular to show him his offence; for that labour were infinite."¹

Mary, however, was at that very moment thinking of organising the Protestant sect. She noticed the poverty into which most of the preachers were gradually falling; at first supported by their co-religionists, they were soon forsaken by them, and on the eve of dying from hunger. The Queen was grieved, and if on the one hand she desired the fall of Protestantism, on the other it made her sad at heart to see those poor victims of error a prey to want. Notwithstanding the pain which they caused her, she was anxious to provide for their support. She expressed her wish on the subject to the Catholic clergy. Then was seen an act of generosity truly wonderful: a slandered clergy consenting to give up a part of its goods rather than displease the Queen. After that the ecclesiastical livings were divided into twenty-one portions: fourteen were left to the incumbents, four to the Protestant ministers, and three to the Crown.²

Those internal disorders did not hinder the Queen of Scots from seeking to strengthen her power abroad by alliances. Acting on the advice of the Lords of her Council, she sent Lethington to Elizabeth with letters full of peace. She begged Elizabeth, in the interest of their common friendship, to will that she be her successor on the English throne; in return she would renounce her rights during the lifetime of the Queen, her good sister. That was the surest way to crush revolt, during the life and after the death of Elizabeth. Mary Stuart thought this project could be easily carried out. Elizabeth had declared before Parliament that she would never marry,³ either, to be without a master, or rather, as was generally believed, to satisfy more easily in celibacy the passions which devoured her.⁴ Nevertheless when she heard of appointing a successor to herself: "To declare her (Mary) successor so long as I

sixteen, and that he married, the following year, Margaret Stewart, who to youth added the advantage of being of blood royal. Boast of austerity! Cf. Blackwood, *Pro Regibus*, xv., 79, and *de Vinculo Religionis*, lib. ii., 270, 271.

¹ Knox, *Reform.*, iv., 270.

² Bishop Keith, 210, note. David Hume, *House of Tudor*, IV., 204.

³ Cum extremum vitæ spiritum edidero, sepulchrali marmori inscribatur: HIC SITA ELIZABETHA QUÆ VIRGO REGNAVIT, VIRGO OBIT. *Camdeni Hist.*, pars. 1., 21, and *Burnett Reform.*, IV., 902.

⁴ Lingard's *History*, vol. V. *Leti. Life of Elizabeth*, I., 377; II., 512. Dargaud, *Vie de Marie Stuart*, édition Hachette, 136.

live," she said, "is against all reason of state or securitie of my persone. It is to carrie my winding sheet before my eyes or to make my grave before I die."¹ Such a concession would have completely overturned the political system upon which she rested; it was a fixed purpose in her to listen to proposals, and see her hand sought after by powerful princes; her pride as a woman and as a queen was thereby agreeably flattered. During many long years she smiled upon all offers which were made to her, and always managed to rid herself of the suitors without giving them offence. Her reply to the Scottish ambassador was as follows:—"As concerning my succession, I hope the Queen of Scotland would not by violence take my crown away from me and my children, if I have any." "She promised not to derogate anything of her rights unto the crown of England, although she had claimed the title and armes of England, through the too much hastie ambition of other men, for which injurys it was meet that she made satisfaction. By setting down her successor, she feared lest their friendship should be rather dissevered than consolidated, for that unto men established in government their successors are alwayes suspected and hated; the people, such is their inconstancy upon a dislike of present things, doe looke after the rising sunne and forsake the sunne setting; and the successors designed cannot keepe within the bounds of justice and truth their own hopes and other mens lewd desires: moreover, if she should confirm the succession unto her, she should thereby cut off the hope of her own securitie, quietness and things, and make her owne funerall feast alive and see the same. Meanwhile, I advise her if she wish to keep me as her friend, to perform (shortly) her promise concerning the Treaty of Leith (Edinburgh.)"²

Foiled in that, Mary made fresh advances, and of her own accord proposed an interview; the date was fixed, and the town of Nottingham chosen for the place of meeting; the retinue of each queen was resolved upon. When all was arranged Elizabeth made excuses, and, against the advice of several members of her council, sent Sir Henry Sidney into Scotland, to tell Queen Mary that the interview should not take place so long as there were disturbances in France. That refusal perplexed the Queen of Scots. Nothing being settled, she could not aid France without offending Elizabeth, and could not observe neutrality without hurting her relatives and seeming to prefer the uncertain alliance of England to the friendship which bound her to

Herries' Memoirs, 58.

² Spottiswoode, II., 8-14. Camden, pars. i., 58.

France. An open quarrel would have been a blessing ; she pined away, dwelling on useless thoughts, and allowed her rival to grow great while she sat idly by.¹

Meanwhile, those out of office, saw with envy at the head of affairs, Lord James and Lethington, whose fortune could not conceal their origin, and who used their influence to gratify their enmities. Since the Queen's arrival, Chatelleraut lived away from the world at Kinneil, near Linlithgow, in a retirement strange in one of his rank. Mary believed that it would be easy to gain him over, and asked him to come and see her. Her gracious welcome surprised him. He had spoken ill of her, and had done her all possible injury, because she occupied the throne in his place. He withdrew conquered by her generosity, sincerely intending, by future devotedness, to make up for the wrong he had done the Queen by finding fault with her and keeping aloof. He had just left the Court when, on the evening of the 11th November, a vexing report agitated Edinburgh ; his son was said to have come from St Andrews, with a troop of followers, to carry away the Queen ; and it was asserted that a large number of trusty servants already filled the capital. That news gave rise to great disorder ; the night was spent entirely in alarm, without an enemy appearing, and on the following day, when people came quietly to find out the cause of the peculiar rumour, some said that the Queen had spread the report to get a body-guard for herself ; her after-behaviour belied that ; others said that the nobles, who were jealous of the Duke of Chatelleraut, were the prompters.²

The following incident gave the Queen fresh sorrow, and again shewed her with whom she had to deal. On the anniversary of the death of Francis II., Mary desired the Lords of her Court to come in black, and take part in her mourning. Her entreaties did not bend the nobles ; they would not comply with a wish so natural.³

The grief which Mary felt at their refusal gave way before anxieties of another nature, proceeding rather from a frolic of some young men, than from a premeditated violation of all rights. The authors of the misdeed were the Earl of Bothwell, the Marquis d'Elbeuf, uncle to the Queen, and Lord John Coldingham. Informed that the Earl of Arran, in spite of his exalted air, and an austerity equal to that of Knox,⁴ regularly visited the daughter of an Edinburgh citizen, they took it

¹ Balfour's Annals, I., 328. Spottiswoode, II., 19. Teulet, II., 182, 183.

² Spottiswoode, II., 16.

³ Miss Strickland, I., 271.

⁴ The reader may remember having seen in a note that he wished to hang all the Papists in Scotland.—When virtue has left the heart, it dwells upon the lips !

into their heads to put a stop to those ongoing. Received kindly the first night, thanks to the Earl of Arran's password, used by chance, they were refused admittance the next night. Without thinking on the consequences of their conduct, Bothwell and his companions broke open the door, and went in, lance in hand. That outrage on a home ended there for the time; but the guilty, ashamed of having done nothing but a low prank, resolved to begin again the day after, in spite of a protest from the Queen. Bothwell brought his party together at his house, while Arran's people assembled in arms on the market-place. Some of the town's people, availing themselves of the chance to shew their feelings, joined the side which interest or impulse prompted. As twilight melted into darkness, the minds of the citizens were filled with terror; they expected the riot to break out every minute, and were astonished that the Court did not interfere in the interest of peace. Mary Stuart wavered; she did not see how to act without galling the feelings of both sides. She at length issued a proclamation, which ordered the mobs to disperse with the shortest possible delay, under penalty of being held and punished as seditious. Surprised at that order, as well as at the little time given to settle down, both withdrew without a murmur, and Randolph, relating the fact to Cecil, was enabled to write: "so that of so likely a matter of Evil, I never saw less hurt."¹

The new year was not to be without fresh sorrows; odious enterprises on the part of the ambitious were to go hand in hand with the horrors of brigandage. In that state of affairs Knox was to reap new triumphs.

Bothwell, banished from Edinburgh since the adventure related above, wished his sentence recalled. The gates of the town were closed upon him on account of his violence; even his friends had forsaken him. In that extremity he went to Knox during the night, and expressed his regret for what had happened. A few words showed Knox whence came that repentance in a man apparently so hardened. "If I might have my Lord Arran's favours," said he, "I would await upon the Court with a page and some few servants, to spare my expenses, where now I am compelled to keep, for my own safety, a number of wicked and unprofitable men, to the utter destruction of my living that is left."² Knox, whose family was dependent on Bothwell's, felt for his position, and tried to bring about a reconciliation. The ascendancy which he had gained over the Earl of Arran led him to

¹ Randolph to Cecil, 27th December. Keith, 211.

² Knox, *Reform.*, iv., 266.

expect speedy good fortune ; but while Knox was doing his best, the incorrigible Bothwell was making himself more and more guilty by attacking Cockburn at a hunting party, laying hold of his young son, and throwing him into a dungeon, which new crime kept back the reconciliation until the 25th of March.¹

That affair had just been settled when Knox received a hurried visit from the Earl of Arran, accompanied by two gentlemen. As soon as the Earl noticed the Reformer in the distance, he shouted to him, "I am treasonably betrayed!" and with these words began to weep. "Who hath betrayed you, my Lord?" demanded John Knox. "A Judas or other," said he, "but I know it is but my life that is sought; I regard it not." "My lord," replied John Knox, "I understand not such dark manner of speaking; if I shall give you any answer, you must speak more plain." The Earl does not need to be asked twice; he relates that Bothwell wishes to seize the Queen, to put her in Dunbarton Castle, and confide the care of her to him; also to kill Lord James and Lethington, and then share the government with himself; "but," said he, "I know this is devised to accuse me of treason, for I know that he will inform the Queen of it; but I take you to witness that I open it here to you, and I will pass incontinent, and write to the Queen's Majesty."²

On his return to Kinneil, he did write to the Queen, informing her of the conspiracy, and begging her to look to her safety at the Falkland hunt. The Queen thanked him, and the Earl endeavoured to prevent the Duke of Chatelleraut from joining the conspiracy. Seeing that the Duke, in spite of his efforts, stuck to the plot, he told him that he repudiated that iniquitous act with all the power of his soul, and that he had already warned the Queen. That confession made the Duke start; rage choked his utterance, and he likely would have killed his son, had he not fled to his room.³ He spent the following day there, and in his hiding-place took care to write to Lord James a letter in cypher, stating what had happened.

Bothwell and the Abbot of Kilwinning who was implicated in the affair, arrived at this juncture, denied the charge, and offered to clear themselves. As the accusation was grave, and particulars and proofs were wanting, they were detained until inquiries should be made.⁴

¹ Knox, *Reform.*, iv., 266, sq.; Mackenzie, *the Writers of Scot. Nation*, III., 121.

² Knox, *Reform.*, iv., 266, sq.; Mackenzie, III., 264.

³ Miss Strickland, *Life of Queen Mary*, among the "Lives of the Queens of Scotland," I., 290.

⁴ Spottiswoode, II., 16-18.

The Earl of Arran, alone in his room, was a prey to the keenest anxiety. A thousand thoughts flitted across his troubled brain; phantoms crowded his diseased mind; his heart leaned now to the Queen, now to his father; all his frame became fevered from excitement. Having managed to escape during the evening of the 29th of March, he, full of horrid fancies, ran about all night disguised as a peasant, and on the morrow at break of day, he found himself on the other side of the Forth, in front of the castle of the Laird of Grange. He was at the height of frenzy. He ran into the court talking nonsense. When Lord James reached the castle, whither he had been summoned, he found the young Earl raving mad. He alleged that he was bewitched. "By what witches?" asked Lord James. "By Lord James' mother," replied he. The poor man then declared that he was the Queen's husband, and that he wished to go into her room, but feared some one might murder him. Brought back to Falkland, he went on raving, and did many foolish things.¹

When the hunt was over, Mary started for St Andrews, taking with her the unfortunate Earl. Kilwinning and Bothwell, in safe keeping, had gone thither before her. When questioned, they protested their innocence. Arran would give no explanation. From his conduct Randolph plainly saw the mental derangement of the Earl. Before the Council he declared his father innocent, and violently denounced Bothwell, with whom he was confronted. Bothwell stoutly denied the charge, and loudly demanded to settle it with arms or before the judges. All were struck with wonder and touched with pity, when the feeble Earl accepted either course at the good pleasure of the Queen. Mary and the Council were moved by that nobleness of soul, and kept Bothwell a prisoner, allowing the Earl to reside with Lord James.² That was just what the ambitious prior wanted. Scarcely had he got the Earl in his power, when he tried to wring from his unfortunate guest, statements criminating the Duke of Chatelleraut. The son strictly shielded his father's honour, obstinately asserted that he was innocent and that his letter was written in a moment of madness, and was a thing without foundation, an offence to God and the Queen, and a disgrace to himself. Whatever Lord James did, he got no further information.

Chatelleraut, locked up at Kinneil, was in great fear. At length, roused from terror, he went, on the 19th of April, and threw himself at

¹ Knox, Reform., iv.

² Spottiswoode, II., 18; Letters of Randolph to Cecil, 7th and 25th April, and to Queen

Eliz., 9th April, State Paper Office, Scottish series.

the Queen's feet, imploring her not to condemn him on the testimony of a son in delirium. Mary pardoned him most cordially; but, before his departure, she claimed the Castle of Dunbarton, which Mary of Lorraine had put under his charge for a time, on the express condition that he should return it to the rightful owner when the latter should ask for it.¹

Although the Earl of Arran had caused the Queen much uneasiness, and had withdrawn only part of his accusation, she always treated him with distinction; she placed her own carriage² at his disposal, and shewed the greatest pity for his misfortune. Knowing him to be poor, and unable to procure for himself any enjoyment on account of his father's avarice, she thought of granting him as pension a sum from the Crown revenues. Bothwell was not held in such great favour.³ After pining for more than a month in the prison of St Andrews, he was taken to Edinburgh; meanwhile, Lord James, actuated merely by vague suspicions, crushed the prisoner's partisans in the south.

Mary had for a long time intended to visit the North of Scotland; the mountains and lakes, the rivers, meadows and forests of the Highlands, all seemed to attract her. She was passionately fond of rambling in the country. In the open air her heart beat joyously; she felt more free, and gladly gave herself up to rural pleasures. She set out from Edinburgh on the 11th of August, accompanied by Lord James, Randolph, the English Ambassador, and a numerous retinue. On the excursion the party intended to go through the vast domains of the Earl of Huntly who, for some time past, had not been on very good terms with the Court. A private quarrel had lately added to the stiffness of the relations. Sir John Gordon, the Earl's second son, had had words with Lord Ogilvie about a property which each claimed. The two Lords had met in Edinburgh, at the head of their vassals, had rushed upon one another, and Lord Ogilvie had received a serious wound. The combatants were seized by the guards and put under arrest, awaiting the Queen's decision. Gordon, hopeless of forgiveness, or dreading long captivity, fled to his father who, instead of handing him over to justice, gave him shelter and protection: that had happened when the court was beginning the excursion. On the Queen's approach, the Earl disappeared, leaving his wife to treat with her. In Scotland there was no one more able or better fitted to touch the heart of the

¹ Knox, *Reform.*, iv., 269.

² *Diurnal of Occur.*, 72.

³ Paul de Foix to the Queen Mother.

Teulet, II., 176. Knox says himself, "the Queen, highly offended, committed him to prison."—Knox, *Reform.*, iv., 269.

Queen. She came and threw herself at Mary's feet, shedding tears, and imploring pardon for her son. Though more merciful than severe, Mary could not pass over a crime which flight had made worse. The Protestant lords would have been hurt, and would have attributed the Queen's clemency, not to her kind heart, but to the religion common to her and the Earl. Consequently she insisted that the guilty one should appear before a court of justice. He was for a time (31st August) prisoner of the Provost of Aberdeen. That punishment seemed too mild to Lord James, whose hatred of the Gordons was increased by the hope of getting their lands. He said he dreaded an insurrection among the vassals, or some attempt on the part of the young Lord, not quite harmless, and asked that he should be sent to Stirling. The Queen suspecting nothing, at once consented.¹ By that unexpected order the hopes of the Huntly family were blighted, inasmuch as Stirling Castle was commanded by Lord Erskine, the uncle of Lord James. The name of the fortress and that of the commander showed clearly to the Gordons the treatment they might expect.

Sir John bent his steps sadly towards Stirling, without any show of resistance. Seeming resigned to his fate, his guard was less strict, and Gordon made off a second time. That fresh escape opened up a way for severity, while shutting it against clemency. His father, seemingly, was not looking for such a turn in affairs, as he had made great preparations at Strathbogie Castle, hoping that his Sovereign might come to pay him a visit there. She was several times begged to do him the honour of accepting his hospitality; but the Queen, frightened by the rumours which Lord James had spread anent the Earl's treason, refused the invitation. That ambitious bastard, to acquire as soon as possible the Earldom of Moray which Mary had bestowed upon him by private deed, had made use of the vilest slanders in order to dispossess Huntly. He had described him to the Queen as a traitor trying to rise at the expense of the crown: he had even hinted that the Earl, sure of his power and influence, wished to see her the wife of his son. The calumny not only made the Queen indignant but also drove her to severity. Unfortunately facts lent a shade of truth to those perfidious insinuations. On her arrival at Inverness, Mary, wishing to put up at the castle of which Huntly was the governor, saw the gates close at her approach.² Exasperated at such an affront she undertook the siege of the place, aided by the Montroses, Frasers, and Mackintoshes,

¹ Bishop Keith, 225.

² Diurnal of Occur., 73.

Then, with wonder, men saw that delicate princess acting like an old soldier, giving orders, directing the manœuvres, and regretting that she was not a man, to take part in the strife.¹ The assault of the troops, full of enthusiasm, was so fierce that the castle surrendered almost at once. The commander of the castle was executed for treason.

The appointment of Lord James to the Earldom of Moray, and the cession of the Earldom of Mar to his uncle Erskine, showed Huntly that there was nothing left for him to do. He endeavoured, however, by patience, to regain the good graces of the Queen. He bore the injustice with great resignation, and when he learned that Mary was about to attack Findlater and Deckford Castle, he sent her the keys, assuring her of his loyalty. Under the influence of Lord James, and probably acting on his advice, Mary had the Earl's envoys imprisoned. She would not take the keys, saying that she could easily enter the castle without them, and summoned Huntly to give up, within twenty-four hours, a cannon which he had long had in his possession. The Earl gave it up at once and begged Captain Hay, whom the Queen had sent to him, to tell his mistress that "not only the cannon, but his goods and even his body, were at her disposal." The Countess took the messenger aside, led him into her chapel, and said to him, with tears in her eyes: "Good friend, you see here the envy that is borne unto my husband! Would he have forsaken God and his religion, as those that are now about the Queen's grace, and have the whole guiding of her, have done, my husband had never been put at as now he is. God," said she, "and He that is upon this holy altar, whom I believe in, will, I am sure, preserve and let our true meaning hearts be known, and as I have said unto you; so I pray you let it be said unto your mistress: my husband was ever obedient unto her, and so will die her faithful subject."² Those touching words were carried to the Queen in full Council and repeated to her in private by the Captain; but the deluded princess had so much confidence in Lord James, that she saw only through his eyes, and acted only in accordance with his hatred or his affection. Huntly's ruin was fixed; nothing now could stop the persecution, and although neither arms, munitions, nor secret papers, as had been expected, were found in Strathbogie, the Privy Council, with the bastard at their head, declared him a traitor, without the loving voice of his countess or any other friend availing. Huntly was hurled from his high position, ruined. With regret he resolved to flee from the

¹ Randolph to Cecil, Chalmers, I., 138.

² Chalmers, I., 140.

danger which threatened him. He assembled a small body of five hundred men, and marched towards Aberdeen, determined to make the Queen learn from force, what mildness and forbearance had not been able to teach her. He took up an advantageous position separated from the Queen's troops by a long strip of marshy ground. Lord James was too weak at first to venture into that swamp; some Lords and a great number of Huntly's friends went over to him, as if deserting. That reinforcement allowed him to send forward several companies to defend the two passages of firm ground, and prevent the Earl from turning his position. Huntly betook himself to a stony hillock, covered with long heather and broom, whence he could watch the enemy's movements.

Just as the two armies were going down to engage, the pretended deserters waved branches of heather above their heads, as if in celebration of the victory of Lord James. That was the signal agreed upon with Huntly. "Voilà our friends," cried Huntly on perceiving them, "they have kept promise; let us now encounter the rest!" In a moment accordingly Moray's army was in confusion; the traitors, in their career, dragged on the faithful troops, and those still true wavered, inclined to flee rather than fight. Moray, momentarily thrown off his guard by this procedure of Huntly's men, raised his voice and commanded his faithful troops to close their ranks, and set their pikes in rest. Huntly's men, seeing the rout, and no longer in doubt that all the Queen's troops were in disorder, threw away their arms so as more easily to follow the fugitives, and rushed headlong on Moray's battalion which was silently awaiting them pike in hand. Then wildly they closed in fight. The aggressors fled, leaving the Earl and one hundred and twenty of his men dead on the field of battle. Sir John Gordon was executed, and George Gordon owed his safety only to the Queen's clemency.¹

Some days earlier (28th August), Bothwell, till then a prisoner, made good his escape and hid himself at the Hermitage of Liddesdale. Deeming himself unsafe, after the fall of Huntly at the hands of the bastard, he embarked for the continent. Unfortunately his vessel was, for a long time, beaten back by contrary winds, and obliged to put in at

¹ Bishop Keith, 229, 232. Spottiswoode, II., 20 sq. Knox, Reform., iv., 277-279. Herries' Memoirs, 63 sq. Buchanan, XVII. De Thou, XXIX. Diurnal, 74. Chalmers, Sec. iv., 119 sq. Tytler. Miss Strickland. Gauthier. Knox

and Buchanan remark that Mary received the congratulations with sadness; perhaps she at last noticed that she was being deceived by Moray.

Holy Island, about twelve miles below Berwick, Bothwell was seized and made prisoner in England. Randolph at once wrote to his country that the wish of Moray, Argyll and Lethington, was "to have Bothwell detained in England, of which he was a determined enemy."¹

There were great rejoicings during the homeward progress of the Queen. Let one imagine a very amiable and cheerful company, having at its head the most charming princess in the world, moving along by short stages, amid fields clothed with heather, resting in the evening in some pleasant spot to recruit for the hunt and other amusements of the morrow, and passing, free from care, days made happy by the remembrance of past dangers; let one imagine all that bliss, and yet the reality is still far from being imagined. The terrible preachings of Knox, however, somewhat damped the enjoyment; the furious Presbyterian kept thundering against life's pleasures; in his eyes those sports were so many abominations. He followed the Court with a gloomy and searching eye; "In fiddling and flinging," said he, "the princes are more exercised than in reading or hearing of God's most blessed word; and fiddlers and flatterers, which commonly corrupt the youth, are more precious in their eyes than men of wisdom and gravity, who, by wholesome admonition, might beat down into them some part of that vanity and pride, whereunto all are born, but in princes take deep root and strength by wicked education."² The dearth of the following year, owing to great floods in England, where Mary had not set foot, and also in Scotland, seeming to tally with his statement, he indulged in still wilder ravings: "The idolatry of our wicked Rulers," exclaimed he, "the riotous feasting and excessive banqueting used in city and country wheresoever the prophane court repaired, provoked God to strike the staff of bread, and to give his maledictions upon the Fruits of the Earth."³ Mary's acts, be they what they might, ever found in him a rigorous censor, and if at times he forgot to slander, he at once changed his policy, recalled past events, cast aspersion upon them, and went on finding fault with the present. Thus at the time of Bothwell's escape he had him written to by their common friend John Maxwell, who bade him behave as a faithful and devoted subject, so that his after-conduct might gain him pardon for fleeing from prison; and elsewhere he seems to hint that Mary winked at the escape.⁴

¹ Chalmers, III., 19.

² Knox, Reform., iv.

³ Bishop Keith, 237.

⁴ Wiesener, *Marie Stuart et le Comte de Bothwell*, 40.

To be able thoroughly to judge of the state of the public mind in Scotland, the changes at Court and in the country must be considered. Under Mary Stuart's ancestors there was not much splendour or much ceremony. At times a favourite was held in high esteem, while the rest of the nobles kept aloof in a mood now reserved, now threatening. During the Queen-Mother's Regency, there was still very little display: a few French were at the Court; but the Scottish Lords remained proudly on their estates, and thought themselves masters in their own homes. Nothing at Holyrood, or in the country, marked the presence of a sovereign: barbarism reigned in the provinces, and silence at the Court. On her arrival in Scotland, Mary had therefore to establish her authority, form a Court and civilise a nation: undoubtedly great labours; for, if in enlightened countries civilisation strengthens the Throne, makes courtiers, and thereby extends its sway, in countries still barbarous, to support power is to acknowledge a master, and to form part of a Court is, for a free man, to return to a kind of servitude; in short, to become civilised is to lose that fierceness which, among poorly enlightened nations, bears the name of courage. Mary, confident in herself, began by forming a small but select circle around her, persuaded that the country would naturally follow the example of the Court, and allow itself to be influenced thereby. She introduced into Edinburgh, at least in so far as she could, the tone and luxury of the Court of the Valois; for she was anxious to give her people the charms of great capitals. Soon there were musical and dancing parties, and the softened and polished nobility threw off with a good grace its rough manners for the attractions of civilisation. The Queen's rare beauty and affability, enhanced by an exquisite politeness and noble simplicity, quickly imbued with a chivalrous spirit those who drew near her. The fine arts began to flourish, and poetry and music were held in repute. That change was looked upon with an evil eye by the bitter Sectaries of the Reformation, who, from principle, followed a different course. Their language was harsh, their habits gloomy and eccentric, and their morality ascetic in the extreme. Lest the soothing influence of music should affect them, they broke the organs in the churches, and destroyed the works of art which they contained. Luxury in dress was strictly forbidden, and mirth itself was an offence: praying God, only in sackcloth and in the dust, was allowed. People were therefore much surprised and irritated at the Queen for introducing instrumental music into her chapel. Civilisation was an abomination to those austere devotees, and the fine arts seemed so many remnants of old Roman

Paganism, and, of course, essentially hateful things.¹ What was Mary to do under such circumstances? Was she to stop, and, to please the Presbyterians, banish that which forms the glory of civilised people, and put on that surly exterior which was then a proof of good-breeding and sanctity? It would have been prudent, but assuredly less noble; for it is always cowardly to change one's simple mode of life for barbarism. Mary took no heed of outrages so little deserved, and allowed people to say what they pleased.

All other classes of the people underwent, in imitation of the Court, a perceptible, and, I might almost say, more happy modification. The reformed religion was, thanks to the Queen and despite insults, acknowledged and organised. The ministers of all Churches were endowed, irrespective of creed; all were equally under the protection of the laws, and if there was a shade of difference in treatment, the Protestants, being the more numerous body, had the advantage. That Scotland did not enjoy more quiet under the reign of so wise a Princess, must be laid to the rebellious feelings which were then fermenting among the Presbyterians. Be that as it may, Mary gave proofs of great genius and extreme goodness of heart by respecting, in that turbulent and imperious century, and in spite of the sad lessons which were before her eyes from childhood, by respecting, I say, that which upon earth is the glory of man and his most precious gift—conscience.

The needy also had a share in her solicitude, and to them she was not a Queen but a mother. Two almoners distributed money to them according to their poverty; their children were taught at her expense. Now and then rich men, emboldened by impunity during the wars of the regency, ruthlessly snatched from the poor their last morsel of bread, and these, stripped and forsaken, had neither the means nor the power to plead their cause. The Queen, however, retained an advocate at a fixed salary to defend the needy in her capital, while she often presided in person to see justice done; with her own hands she tended the wretched and even pleaded their cause before the rich lords.² An angel of peace who would have ensured the happiness of a people

¹ "Mary Queen of Scots, her Persecutions, Sufferings, and Trials;" Glasgow: W. R. M'Phun, 1821, chap. vi., 79, sq.—Already in August 1562, people found fault with her life, and filthy songs alluding to her were sung in the streets. Randolph to Cecil, 10th

August. MS. State Papers and Chalmers, I., 99.

² H. Glassford Bell, "Life of Queen Mary," i., 182, sq.; Chalmers, I., 102; Miss Strickland, ii., 358.—"In tribunali sæpe causas audiendo, ut æqua bili jure summos cum infimis contineret." Camden, I., 78.

and gained their admiration even in the worst of times, had not tormenting religious hatred hindered her from carrying out her plans!

The rapture she kindled in those who could see or hear her was such as to give rise to the greatest devotedness, but it was a rapture which laid them open to the greatest dangers; for Providence, which had endowed her so handsomely in person, had given her at the same time a proud soul and a sound religion which prevented her from ever degrading herself: to her, honour was life. A poor French gentleman, named Chastelard, was the first to learn that. Chastelard, with some of Bayard's blood in his veins, was a brilliant youth, a type of chivalry, and an elegant poet. He became passionately enamoured of Mary Stuart. Knowing that she was fond of poetry, he had addressed several pieces of verse to her. The Queen, imagining it a beguiling of his weary hours, and nothing more, sent him her thanks. On receiving her message Chastelard thought he should have died of happiness. Recalled for a while to France, he pined away with weariness; the profession of arms which he had loved so much became a burden to him; there was a want somewhere in his existence. In the Huguenot war he joined no side, and led a life dishonourable to himself, and valueless to France. At length he begged to be sent back to Scotland, and his wish was granted. The flame, for a long time slumbering, burst forth afresh on his return to Edinburgh, and one night he was found concealed under the Queen's bed. Mary, touched with compassion, forgave him his indelicacy, desiring him to be in future more respectful, and, to put a stop to those familiarities, ordered him to quit the Court. Chastelard kept out of sight; but two days later he was again found in the Queen's chamber. Mary raised the alarm, and called her attendants; noticing Moray, she ordered him to sheathe his dagger in the imprudent youth. Moray in vain endeavoured to quiet her; Chastelard, guilty of high treason, was condemned to death and was hanged. He expired uttering these words: "Adieu, thou, so lovely and so cruel, who killest me, thou whom I cannot cease to love."¹

Just at the period of this untoward accident Mary received news from France which made her forget her own sorrows. About the end of February her secretary, Raullet, arrived from Paris, and handed a letter to the Queen, telling her that a great misfortune had happened in her family. On opening the letter Mary was heard to exclaim:

¹ "Adieu, toi, si belle et si cruelle, qui me tues et que je ne puis cesser d'aimer." Bran-

tôme, "Discours sur Marie Stuart," and Proofs ii. at the end of vol. II.

"Oh, Jesus, Jesus, my uncle is dead!" The Duke de Guise whom she had so much loved was dead.

After a little time had healed the cruel wound, and when nature had relieved itself through tears, she sent for Raullet to learn from him the full particulars of that assassination, which is one of the most tragical in history.

A Huguenot fanatic, Poltrot de Méré, who had enjoyed the Duke's kindness, and who had never suffered ill-treatment at his hands, solely from the desire to rid his party of a dangerous enemy, resolves to assassinate his friend. He unbosoms himself to Coligny and Théodore de Bèze; They, instead of dissuading him, strengthen him in his resolve: "Go," said they, "take courage, the angels will help you!" To gain his end he becomes the Duke's servant, and daily watches for an opportunity to kill him. At last he takes a pistol, loaded with poisoned bullets, and in a wood awaits his master's arrival, while he prays to God that He may strengthen his arm; then, at the favourable moment, fires, in the belief that he is doing a good deed. The after-fate of the murderer is most surprising. He leaps upon his horse, gallops all night at a quick pace, dashes at random through by-paths, as if afraid of himself, thinks himself a hundred miles from the scene of his crime, falls asleep in a barn at break of day, and, on awaking, finds himself in the grasp of the law close to the place whence he had set out.

The inhabitants of Paris were very much grieved when they heard of that fiendish act. The ruffian who had been guilty of it was condemned to have his flesh torn off with red-hot pincers, and then to be quartered. His frightful torture was considered too mild by the Parisians, whose rage waxed greater over the corpse itself. The Duke's greatness of soul, his kindliness, and the good fortune which attended all his undertakings, had gained for him the public favour; people delighted to speak of the acts of heroism which had made his name illustrious; and the exertions of the Huguenots to put him to death increased the affection for him in the camp which was under his command. Already, at Rouen, he had almost been the victim of an assassin; and when he asked the murderer if he had personally given him reason to complain: "No, sir," replied the guilty one, "it is the zeal alone for my religion, whose mortal enemy you are, which has made me think of putting you to death."—"Well," said the Duke, "if your religion teaches you to kill him who has never offended you, mine orders me to pardon you; go, and judge thereby which of the two

religions is the better." Sublime words, which ought to have disarmed the Huguenots, and made them fall on their knees.

The infamous murderer, who had just cut off so beautiful a life was, nevertheless, held up as a saint by his party; so blind is fanaticism! Mary listened to those particulars, and for many a day bewailed her unfortunate uncle.¹

¹ Brantôme, "Castelnau," iv., 10.—La Popelinière, ix.; De Thou., xxxiv.

CHAPTER V.

1564—1565.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR MARY STUART'S MARRIAGE—SEVERAL SUITORS—THE KING OF SWEDEN—DON CARLOS—FERDINAND I. PROPOSES THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES—JEALOUSY OF CATHERINE DE MÉDICIS—SHE PROPOSES THE DUKE D'ANJOU—ELIZABETH'S ANXIETY—SHE OFFERS DUDLEY—INTERVIEW OF MARY WITH KNOX—INTERVIEW OF KNOX WITH LETHINGTON—MELVILLE IN LONDON—THE COUNTESS OF LENNOX AND DARNLEY—CONVERSATIONS OF THE QUEEN WITH RANDOLPH—SECRET MARRIAGE OF THE QUEEN WITH DARNLEY—MARY'S CONDUCT—PUBLIC MARRIAGE.

THE Queen had now been a widow for two years, and if she did not soon wed she must compromise her interests. Chastelard had proved it was dangerous for her to remain single; fanatics, by ill-treating the Archbishop of St Andrews, and imprisoning the Catholic priests, made severity on her part necessary.¹ To be able to stamp out such troubles, a queen, she felt, was not powerful enough; there must be a king. Here her only difficulty was to choose.

The King of Sweden had come forward among the first; but as the Queen seemed little inclined to contract an alliance with the North, he had been thrown aside. Elizabeth, too, looked upon that union with displeasure.² The match with Don Carlos seemed more suitable, but that prince was powerful; France and England were very much against an alliance which might compromise the safety of other states. Ferdinand, on his side, believed he might have some chance of success. His alliance, stronger than that with Sweden, was not a source of so much anxiety as one with Spain. He had an interview with the Cardinal de Lorraine when the latter passed through Insprück on his way to the Council of Trent; the Cardinal encouraged him to press the suit, and promised

¹ "Forty-seven persons were brought to the bar with the Archbishop of St Andrews for having administered or received sacrament."—Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, I., 427.—"Divers persons, priests, were apprehended by the kirkmen who take upon them to prosecute, examine, condemn and execute without authority of the Queen or Council. They pretending that *the Spirit of God did to their consciences justify their actions*."—Sanderson's *History*, 30.

² "Elizabeth feared," says Chantonay, "que la Reyna, estando en su reyno, podria casarse con el rey de Suecia ó otro principe poderoso, el qual tomando pie en Escocia podria con armas seguir la pretension della (corona)." And he adds this sentence which the future has fully justified: "En summa veese claramente que en qualquier manera los Ingleses temen el casamiento d'esta princesa." Chantonay to the King of Spain, 26th July 1561.—Teulet, II., 167.

him his support. He then asked Mary Stuart's hand for the youngest of his sons, the Arch-Duke Charles. Matters went so far that Melville was ordered to obtain particulars about the young Prince, and about the marriage contract.¹

Elizabeth, dreading that a wedding was coming off, resolved to thwart it; and, in addition to remonstrating with Mary, tried to win away from her the Arch-Duke Charles, by allowing people to think that she herself was meditating an alliance with him. Catherine de Médicis, more discreet, and therefore more crafty, dreamed of impossible alliances, by which she might gain the good-will of both Elizabeth and Mary. She sent to England Michel Castelnau to offer Elizabeth the hand of the young King of France, Charles IX., while, for Mary Stuart, she proposed an alliance with the Duke d'Anjou. In spite of his skill, the negotiator was fated to fail in both schemes. The Queen of England tendered him "all the thanks and polite replies then known possible, deeming the offer a great honour. . . . But found in it a difficulty, to wit, that the very Christian King, her good-brother, was too great and too small,"² too great from position, too small by reason of his youth. Then, personally explaining her thought, she let slip the true motive of her refusal. "The English," said she, "like to have their Sovereigns at home, and France is so great that her King could never think of living elsewhere;" that was the true motive. Moreover, the King was still young, and "she, already thirty years of age, called herself an old thing, which she has kept repeating, since I have known her," adds the ambassador,³ Declining the offer, the Queen tried to dissuade Castelnau from his journey to Scotland. Several courtiers hinted to him that their mistress seemed to incline more towards the Duke d'Anjou, because he might come and live in England.

Castelnau, puzzled, wrote to Catherine de Médicis about it, and went on to Scotland. His attention was arrested by Mary Stuart's position; the picture which he has drawn of it sufficiently proves how much she was beloved by her subjects.⁴ Mary was greatly pleased to see that Lord, an old acquaintance, who had been her servant in

¹ François de Bourbon, Prince Dauphin of Auvergne was also a suitor. He was rejected on the opinion of the Council. Teulet, II., 189.

² "Tous les remerciemens et honnestes responses qu'il estoit possible, estimant cette recherche à très grand honneur. . . . Mais y trouvoit une difficulté, à sçavoir que le roy très-chrestien, son bon frère, estoit trop grand et trop petit."

³ "Elle desjà âgée de trente ans, s'appelant vieille chose, qu'elle a tousjours dit depuis que je l'ai cognue."—Castelnau, Mémoires, v., 11.

⁴ "Estant donc arrivé, en Ecosse, ie trouuay cette Princesse en la fleur de son âge estimée et adorée de ses sujets et recherchée de tous ses voisins; en sorte qu'il n'y auoit grande fortune et alliance qu'elle ne pust espérer." Castelnau, Mémoires, v., 11.

France, and one of her retinue on her return to Scotland. She gave him a hearty welcome, and, during the whole of his stay, treated him magnificently, but rejected his proposal.

To prevent a new alliance, and stop the active steps which Spain was again taking, Elizabeth resolved to choose a husband "for her good sister." She would no doubt have preferred Mary to live single like herself, but failing that, she thought it would be the wiser course to have her wedded to one devoted to England. The difficulty was to find a man worthy of the Queen of Scots, and one on whose fidelity England might rely; not finding one to her purpose she had recourse to shameless deceit.

There was then at the Court of England a man in whom were centred all the charms likely to captivate a young lady; he was noble in person, agreeable in manners, insinuating and singularly delicate in conversation, somewhat affected in bearing, and given to stand upon his dignity, nevertheless, at heart, without honour or generosity. He had been suspected of the murder of his first wife, and, later on, was to poison another. That privileged favourite of Elizabeth had received administrative, after having enjoyed personal, favours, and was, in short, so dear to the Queen of England that the people attributed the suspicious intimacy to the stars; such was the man whom Elizabeth put forward. Mary felt offended at that proceeding; but to disobey Elizabeth was to give up the right of succession to the throne of England. The Queen of Scots must now do one of two things. She must either sink her dislike and wed Dudley, or renounce her claim to the throne of England. Mary did not hesitate; she overcame her feelings and gave her consent, remarking however upon the great disparity of age and rank that existed betwixt her and Dudley. Succession to the throne was the indispensable condition. Elizabeth was delighted. She at once raised her favourite to the highest dignities, and created him Earl of Leicester.² By so acting she could indulge her passion for Dudley, and work for her own ends. The higher the position held by Dudley, the more easily he could approach Elizabeth without exciting suspicion. That cunning proceeding was masked by the fine pretext of giving to the Queen of Scots a husband worthy of her.

¹ Robertson, *History of Scotland*, 1769, I., 306.

Letters from Randolph, Bishop Keith, 259, 260, 263.—"The Queenes Majesty willeth Mr Randolph to acerteyn the Q. of Scottes that if she will be content to follow hir advise

in the mariadj with the Erle of Leister she shall fynd hir redde to avance hym to all the honor she can, and to favor his title in all sorte that she maye, etc."—*Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary*, 134.

Leicester, who secretly aspired to the hand of Elizabeth, felt uneasy at those combinations, and, though proud of being destined to wed the most beautiful princess in the world, could not make up his mind to accept the honour. His affections were not fixed; he knew not what to do. Elizabeth herself loved him passionately, and proclaimed that nothing could have prevented her from taking him as a husband, had she not resolved to live in celibacy. Leicester now thought that the Queen might some day change her mind, and from that time looked upon his marriage with Mary as a disgrace, and laid the blame upon Cecil.¹

Knox, who all along has been mixed up with political and religious matters, is found upbraiding the Queen about the intended marriage. In the pulpit he discussed politics instead of religion: "My Lords," exclaimed he, "I hear of the Queen's marriage; Dukes, brethern to Emperors, and Kings, strive all for the best gain; but this, my Lords, will I say,—note the day, and bear witness after,—whensoever the nobility of Scotland professing the Lord Jesus, consent that an infidel—and all Papists are infidels—shall be head to our Sovereign, ye do, so far you lieth, to banish Christ Jesus from this realm; ye bring God's vengeance upon the country, a plague upon yourselves."²

That style of speaking was judged intolerable. Both Catholics and Protestants were offended. The Queen was told of those violent words; somebody having reported to her accurately what Knox had said. It grieved Mary. She could not believe that hearts, though perverse, could dare to speak so. Knox was sent for. The Queen blamed his conduct, telling him she had done all in her power to please and satisfy him; that she had granted him the privilege of approaching her, so that he might find fault with her conduct as often as he wished; in short, that she had sought his favour by all imaginable means. Knox was obliged to admit, that during his various interviews he had never known the Queen to be angry with him. That was the beginning of an apology; but pride soon got the upper hand, and he added: "When it shall please God to deliver you from that bondage of darkness and error in the which ye have been nourished, for the lack of true doctrine, your Majesty will find the liberty of my tongue nothing offensive. Without the preaching-place, Madam, I think few have occasion to be offended at me; and there, Madam, I am not master of myself, but must obey Him who commands me to speak plain, and to flatter no flesh upon the

¹ Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*.—Bannat. Club, 119.

² Knox *Reform.*, iv.

face of the earth.”—“But,” replied the Queen, “what have you to do with my marriage?” Instead of answering, Knox praised her dignity, pretending that his vocation was not to visit princely courts nor ladies’ chambers, but to teach the gospel of Christ; that he preached faith and repentance; that in order to repent, it was necessary to know one’s faults and consequently one’s duties; in short, that to let the nobility know their obligations towards God he had of necessity spoken as he had done. “But my marriage what have you to do with?” said Mary. “What are you in this commonwealth?”—“A subject born within the same, Madam; and albeit I am neither earl, lord, nor baron within it, yet has God made me—how abject that ever I am in your eyes—a profitable member within the same; yea, Madam, to me it appertains no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doth to any of the nobility; for both my vocation and conscience crave plainness of me; and, therefore, madam, to yourself I say that I spake in public place. Whensoever that the nobility of this realm shall consent that ye be to an infidel husband, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ and to banish His truth from this realm.” That was too much for Mary Stuart; so much boldness in a subject after so much kindness on her part, rent her heart. She began to sob. Touched by what he saw, Erskine of Dun tried to calm her but in vain; her voice was stifled, and her tears flowed freely. Knox seemed unmoved before her,¹ and pondered over his defence. When he saw the Queen somewhat recovered, he apologized for his violence, saying: “In God’s presence I speak, Madam, I never delighted in the weeping of any of God’s creatures; yea, I can scarcely abide the tears of my own boys, whom my own hand corrects, much less can I rejoice in your Majesty’s weeping; but seeing that I have offered you no just occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth, as my vocation craves of me, I must sustain—albeit unwillingly—your Majesty’s tears, rather than I dare hurt my conscience, or betray my commonwealth through my silence.” Mary made no reply. She gave him to understand by her silence that she wished him to retire. In going across

¹ The old boor, while relating that strange scene, says: “The said John stood still without any alteration of countenance for a long season.” What a seeming hardness of heart towards that graceful Princess melting into tears! and as a contrast he shows Erskine of Dun extolling the Queen’s charms, and giving her by way of consolation “many pleasing

words of her beauty, of her excellency, and how that all the princes of Europe would be glad to seek her favour.” A fitting remark indeed! I beg God’s pardon, and the reader’s; but, I do not know why, every time I read those lines, I imagine I see the virtuous Diogenes coming out of his barrel. Is such a comparison pardonable?

the ante-room, Knox noticed a group of ladies who were making merry. The mirth of those young persons displeased the ferocious preacher, and not satisfied with the tears forced from the Queen, he interrupted the cheerful party. "O fair ladies," said he, "how pleasing was this life of yours, if it should ever abide, and then in the end that we might pass to heaven with all this gay gear? But fie upon that knave, Death, that will come whether we will or not! and when he has laid on his arrest, the foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and so tender." After that sentimental bombast he majestically left the room, happy at having put a stop to the merry laugh of some young girls, as if that was a crime in girls of twenty years of age.¹

It would be impossible to mention all the outrages which that "ruffian," as Cobbett says, after Johnson,² made the Queen of Scots endure. In private, as well as in public, he replied to her politeness only with insults. "Murderers," said he, "adulterers, thieves, whores, drunkards, idolaters, and all malefactors got protection under the Queen's wings, under colour that they were of her religion: Lord deliver us from that bondage."³ Under pretence of repressing balls, hunting, dress, and such like things, which he called vices, he sowed the seeds of revolt among the people, and said that the conduct of their Queen drew down upon them the curses of heaven. His own History of the Reformation shows, that on many occasions he threatened the Scots with heaven's wrath on account of the loose morality in the Court and among the Papists.⁴ But above all questions, far above crime and immorality, was the Mass. He loved to return to that subject, and the bewildered people, fancying they were obeying God's command to overturn idolatry, rushed headlong into all kinds of excess. Lethington, a witness of the turn in the public mind and of the menacing of the throne, wished the reformer to be silent, and therefore said to him before the Parliament: "By your preaching you put a doubt in the people's head of her conversion."—"Not I, my Lord," said the other, "but her own obstinate rebellion causes more than me doubt of her conversion."—"Wherein," said Lethington, "rebels she against God?"—"In all the actions of her life," answered Knox; "but in these two heads especially: that she will not hear the preaching of the blessed evangel of Jesus Christ, and that she maintains that idol, the Mass."—

¹ Knox Reform., iv.
Cobbett's Letters, x.
³ Knox Reform., iv., 255.

⁴ Throckmorton to Elizabeth, Bishop Keith,
xii. Knox Reform., 250, 305.

"She thinks not that rebellion," observed Lethington, "but good religion."—"So thought they," said the other, "that sometimes offered their children unto Moloch; and yet the Spirit of God affirms that they offered them unto devils, and not unto God." The conversation fell upon the Holy Scripture and on the prophets, "At least," said Lethington, "when the prophets raise their voice they speak nothing against kings in special, and yet your continual cry is: 'The Queen's idolatry, the Queen's mass will provoke God's vengeance.'"—"I hear not Kings and Queens excepted," said Knox; "but all unfaithful are pronounced to stand in one rank, and to be in bondage to one tyrant, the devil. But, belike, my Lord, ye little regard the estate wherein they stand, when ye would have them so flattered, that the danger thereof should neither be known, nor yet declared to the poor people."—"Where will ye find," asked Lethington, "that any of the prophets did so entreat Kings and Queens, Rulers or Magistrates?"—"In more places than one," said Knox; "Ahab was a King and Jezebel was a Queen, and yet what the prophet Elijah said to one and to the other, I suppose ye are not ignorant."—"That was not cried out before the people," said Lethington, "to make them odious unto their subjects."—"That Elijah said, 'Dogs shall lick the blood of Ahab,' said John Knox, 'and eat the flesh of Jezebel.'"—"However," said Lethington, "they were singular motions of the Spirit of God, and appertain nothing to this our age."—"Then," replied John Knox, "hath the Scripture far deceived me, for St Paul teacheth me that whatsoever is written within the Holy Scriptures, the same things are written for our instruction; and my Master says that every learned and wise scribe brings forth of his treasure both things old and things new; and the prophet Jeremiah affirms that every realm and every city that likewise offendeth, as then did Jerusalem, should likewise be punished." That was sticking to the fixed idea that nations, though innocent, ought to be punished for the doings of their kings.

Lethington allowed him to speak for a long time and then said to him: "Our question is whether we may or ought to suppress the Queen's Mass, and whether her idolatry should be laid to our charge?"—"Not only ought idolatry to be suppressed," said Knox, "but idolaters ought to die the death."—"But who shall be judge, or put it in execution?" asked Lethington. "The people," said Knox; "for the command was given to Israel, that if idolatry be committed in any city, inquisition shall be taken; and if it be found so, the whole bodie of the people shall arise and destroy that city. I find no priviledge granted by God

to Kings, more than unto the people, to offend God's Majesty."—"Where find you," objected Lethington, "that any of the prophets or apostles taught, that the people should be plagued for the iniquity of their Prince; or that the subjects might suppress the idolatrie of their rulers and punish them for the same."—"I find in the Ecclesiastical History," said Knox, "that the faithful assisted their preachers even against their rulers and magistrates, and suppressed idolatry, whensoever God gave them force, asking no leave of the Superiour, nor of his deputies. Elizeus sent one of the children of the prophets to anoint Jehu, who gave him commandment to destroy the house of his master, Ahab, for idolatry committed by him, and for innocent blood, which Jezebel his wicked wife had shed, which he put in execution; and for this God promised to him the stability of his Kingdome to the fourth generation; he was a mere subject, and no king, when the servant of the prophet came to him. The whole people killed Amaziah, King of Judah, and anointed Uzziah King instead of his father; his blows had already struck down Joah, father of Amaziah, punished by his servants as his son was by his subjects."¹ From those famous examples it was necessary to conclude that the people had a right to chastise their sovereigns when these were idolatrous. The example of the Jewish people who were punished for the sole crime of Manasseh which they had not hindered, proved in Knox's mind that Divine chastisement fell upon the people regardless of their duty.² Deplorable mistake, which places sovereigns at the mercy of their lowest subjects, and which would have made a Vincennes coal-heaver the judge of St Louis;³ an error to be dreaded as paving the way for the maddest sedition; the same error which caused Hume, the historian, in speaking of the Presbyterians to say: "that although now mollified by the lenity of the civil power, they are ready to break out on all occasions."⁴

Events of another kind were taking place in London, and though somewhat peculiar at times, they were not generally of a sad nature. Melville was at variance with Elizabeth; it was the skilful, cringing, and eloquent courtier, against the wily, double-faced, and the most pretentious and most coquettish of all princesses. Elizabeth gave

¹ Knox Reform., iv., 305, 320.—Calderwood, 35-37.—"Knox," says Monsieur Gauthier, "n'est pas seulement un réformateur du dogme et du culte, c'est encore un démagogue et un factieux qui, transformant, la chaire en tribune, se met audessus des lois et prêche

ouvertement la révolte à une multitude d'élus fanatisés." I., 120.

² Knox, Calderwood, loc. cit.

³ St Louis often dispensed justice, seated at the foot of a large oak in the wood of Vincennes.

⁴ Hume, History of England, xxxviii.

Melville a gracious welcome, and, during his stay in London, shewed him great attention. She wished him to take his meals with Lady Strafford, her Lady in attendance, to be able to converse more freely with him. The talk was usually frivolous and playful; yet Elizabeth always laboured to prove herself and her country indifferent to all that concerned Scotland. Melville was charming. He willingly chatted of his numerous travels, and of what he had seen at the Court of France, at the Montmorencys', at the various courts of Germany, and at the residence of the elector Palatine. He spoke, not as a diplomatist, but as a cheerful tourist who never forgot that he was speaking to a woman, and knew how to word everything prettily, and to the praise of his hearer. One day he entered into a discussion on dress; the Queen boasted that she could dress in the fashion of all nations; and on the following days she was in English, French, and Italian costume. On each occasion, she asked Melville's opinion, and he, to her great delight, praised the Italian one. It was then customary in Italy to let the hair hang loosely, and the Queen thought hers beautiful, though it was glaring in colour. Melville was more puzzled when the royal lady asked him whether she or Mary was the more beautiful. A consummate courtier, he cleverly got out of the scrape by telling her that she was "the fairest queen in England, and Mary the fairest queen in Scotland." Melville's praises fed Elizabeth's vanity. She played upon the virginal, danced, and did various silly things to show off her person and her talents. In the midst of all those frivolities, serious matters to her, she never was silent about personal beauty. She dared to compare her swarthy complexion¹ and hard profile with the wonderfully fresh and expressive features of Mary, and even claimed the advantage. Melville willingly acknowledged it, pre-occupied as he was with more serious matters. Once, however, he thought he might tell the truth. "Quyhilk is of hiest stature?" asked Elizabeth.—"Our Queen," replied Melville.—"Then the Queen is ouer heych," replied the Queen, "for I am nother ouer hich nor ouer laich."²—At other times she kissed with affectation a small portrait of Mary, saying, that she loved his mistress, and would like to have her there instead of her portrait. Amid that trifling, however, Melville's practised eye saw through many mysteries. The Queen's love for Dudley could not escape him. Knowing how averse Mary was to the marriage proposed by her, she expressed great regret that the affair was a failure, and lavished fulsome flatteries on her

¹ She was "di bella carne ancor che *olivastra*," says an eye-witness quoted in M. Mignet, I., 53.

² Melville's Memoirs.—Bannat. Club, 124.

favourite. Melville replied by this compliment, that Dudley was happy indeed to have met in with a princess who so liberally rewarded his undeniable merit. "Yet," replied she with vivacity, pointing to Darnley who was standing by her side, and who wore the sword of honour as first Prince of the blood, "ye lyk better of yonder lang lad."¹

Public opinion had for some time past destined Darnley for Mary Stuart's hand. He was, on his mother's side, of royal birth, being descended from Henry VII., and, on that account, had certain rights to the throne of England. His father, the Earl of Lennox, belonged to the House of Stuart. Darnley was therefore the most likely suitor to attract attention since he was a descendant of the royal families of England and Scotland.² But great difficulties arose against that alliance. The Lennox family had left Scotland at the time of the invasion, and Elizabeth seemed to watch the Earl closely. He got leave, however, to visit Scotland, to support his wife's claim to the Earldom of Angus. Elizabeth gave him letters of introduction to Mary Stuart, while, by other means, she had the Queen warned that Lennox was a man to be looked after, and that his presence in Scotland might give rise to great troubles.

The arrival of the Earl of Lennox made quite a sensation in Scotland. The Duke of Chatelleraut was the first to take alarm. The Douglasses, interested in the quarrel, followed his example. The Queen was obliged to use the greatest circumspection to prevent blows, and her skill was such that she succeeded in cancelling the Act of Confiscation decreed against Lennox in 1545, and in reinstating the Earl in his former honours without giving offence to any one.³ "The Queenis Maieste," says James Melville, "after hir returnyng out of France to Scotland, behaued hir salf sa princely, sa honorably and discretly, that hir reputation spred in all contrees; and was determynit, and also inclynit to continow in that kynd of comelynes, vnto the end of hir lyfe; desyryng to hald nane in hir company bot sic as wer of the best qualitez and conuersation, abhorring all vices and vitious personnes, whither they wer men or wemen; and requested me to assist her in geuying hir my gud consaill, how sche mycht vse the meatest meanis

¹ Melville's Memoirs, Bannat. Club, 120.

² Sanderson's History, 37.—Du droict et Tiltre de la Sérénissime Princesse Marie au trône d'Angleterre par Jean Lesselie, Rouen. Imprim. G. l'Oyselet D. ij., verso.—Queen

Mary had not in reality a choice in her power. Darnley was the husband of fate. Robertson, 40. Camden, I., 85.

³ Stevenson's Illustrat., 111. Diurnal of Occur., 77, 78.

till aduance hir honest intention; and incaice she, being yet yong, mycht forzet hir self in any unseamly gēstour or misbehauour, that I wald warn hir thereof, with my admonition to forbear and refourm the sam." ¹ As Melville declined that duty, she added that she saw clearly why he did so; that he feared to lose her affection by telling her too many truths. She begged that he would not have so bad an opinion of her, and that he would rather give her the opportunity of being able to disabuse him, by doing honestly what she wanted him to do. Instead of hating him when he should tell her of her faults, he should see that she esteemed him all the more for it, persuaded as she was, that he would say nothing to her which did not proceed from a heart full of zeal and good will for her.²

Darnley also was the object of delicate attentions on the part of the Queen. Elizabeth, however, who had exhorted Mary to support the Lennox family, changed her tone when she saw the Queen of Scots doing so. To bind the Hamiltons to her, she openly disapproved of the conduct which she had herself advised; she pretended to be displeased, caused the Countess of Lennox and her second son to be imprisoned, and flew into a passion without giving any plausible reason for such a proceeding. Her anger, whether assumed or real, was to her a pretext for refusing to acknowledge Mary's rights to succeed her, and allowed her to foment rebellion in Scotland.³

Acting on his instructions, Randolph was busy keeping back Mary's marriage, by ever dragging the Earl of Leicester before her eyes. Mary had several conversations with him, either while dining or walking. The English ambassador was often with her. Frivolous as was their general talk, they occasionally conversed upon grave subjects which filled the public mind. "Sir," said she one day to Randolph, "if your mistress will (as she hath said) use me as her natural born sister or daughter, I will take myself either the one or the other, as she please, and will show no less readiness to obey her, and honour her, than my mother or eldest sister; but if she will repute me always as her neighbour, the Queen of Scots, how willing soever I be to live in amity, and to maintain peace, yet must she not look for that at my hands, that otherwise I would, or she desireth."⁴ In her interviews

¹ Melville's Memoirs, Bannat. Club, 130.

³ Elizabeth could not however have forgotten that she and Leicester had given to Darnley letters of introduction to Mary Stuart.

² Melville's Memoirs, Bannat. Club, 131.

⁴ Randolph to Elizabeth, Chalmers, I., 193; M. Mignet I., 154; Tytler, III., 187; Stevenson's Illust., 134.

with the English ambassador, Mary always appeared wise, prudent and gracious, and infinitely more dignified than Elizabeth had been with Melville. She treated Darnley with reserve, and contrary to the then general belief, that she had warmly welcomed him, did not allow him to put up at Holyrood. She lodged him at Seton's residence in the Canongate,¹ treated him with the most punctilious ceremony, and firmly refused a ring which he had rashly offered her.² That reserve was so well kept up, that Randolph, charged by Elizabeth to take note of Mary's bearing towards Darnley, assured his mistress that the Queen of Scots had no intention of marrying him, but that she paid him the utmost courtesy.³

Yet, as Mary had to make up her mind about marriage, in the interest of her kingdom and on the recommendation of her subjects,⁴ she chose Darnley. He was the only person who could dispute with her the succession to the throne of England; by marrying him she secured it for her heirs.⁵ On the 7th of April she took the opinion of her Council, charged Castelnau to consult the Queen of France,⁶ and sent Lethington to England to inform the Queen. "The Queen of Scots," says Castelnau, "often assured me that she had no greater love than the welfare of her State, and that she anxiously sought the advice of her friends, among whom she considered the King and the Queen, her mother-in-law, as the most sure and the most trusty."⁷

Though really glad of that alliance,⁸ Elizabeth appeared annoyed at it. She recalled the Earl of Lennox and his son, and gave so strict orders about the Countess that she was nearly starved to death.⁹ Throckmorton was sent to Scotland as envoy-extraordinary to the Queen. He spoke of the impropriety of concluding so hurriedly an alliance, of the sorrow which might flow from it, dwelling particularly

¹ *Diurnal of Occur.*, 79.

² Melville's *Memoirs*, 134.

³ Bishop Keith, 273, app. 159.

⁴ Prince Labanoff, VII., 340.; Melville's *Memoirs*, 134.

⁵ Queen Elizabeth felt it; she said one day to Paul de Foix, who found her playing at chess, that Darnley, "n'estoit que comme ung pion mais qu'il seroit bien pour luy donner mat si elle n'y prenoit bien garde." Teulet, II., 204.

⁶ "Ult. junij the French Kyng writeth to the Queenes Majesty in favor of the Lord Darnly." Stevenson's *Illust.* 140.—Philip II. said in like manner that "ningun casamiento le podia

venir tan a proposito para todas sus pretensiones y para la quietud de su reyno como el de Linos." Duke of Alba to Philip II. Teulet, V., 12.

⁷ Castelnau, *Mémoires*, V., 11.

⁸ Castelnau, *Mémoires*, V., 12; Melville's *Memoirs*, 134.—"In her heart Queen Elizabeth was not angry at this marriage," says Knox (V., 326.)—Mr Hosack, 101-103; D. Hume. *The House of Tudor*, IV., 264, 265.

⁹ "Le mauvais traitement que l'on luy faisoit s'estendoyt jusques à son boire et manger." Paul de Foix to the King. Teulet, II., 244.

on the fact that her marriage with Darnley was in defiance of ecclesiastical law through their relationship, and again recommended the Earl of Leicester.¹ Mary, tired of being fooled by Elizabeth, this time held to her resolution: "I might have chosen," said she, "from the Houses of Austria, France, or Spain, yet to please your mistress, I have rejected those alliances, and I intend to take as husband one who is both a subject and a relative to her. Of what can she complain? Besides, it is too late; my resolution is taken. As the ceremony is not to take place until three months are past, I hope the feeling which keeps my sister from approving of it will have died away by that time."² When Throckmorton saw that the Queen of Scots could not be turned from her purpose, he wrote to Elizabeth that there was "no place left to dissolve the same (marriage) by persuasion or reasonable means, otherwise than by violence."³

The violence of which Throckmorton speaks was soon shown. Moray was at the head of a movement whose object was to seize the Queen and Darnley, to kill the latter and imprison the former; the Queen of England sympathised with the conspirators.⁴ The plot had long been hatching. The airs of the haughty Darnley had displeased the nobility. He had been for some time intimately acquainted with a Piedmontese in the Queen's service, named Riccio, and had often made use of his counsels. Now, Riccio and he were alike hated; but they were so strongly backed by the Queen that it was vain to think of overthrowing them; people hated them and found fault with Mary's conduct, without asking if she had not a secret reason for acting thus. At the end of March Darnley fell ill; towards the end of April he had a relapse, when a change was noticed in the Queen's conduct. She, who until then, had been so reserved, and who, even a month before, had shown him only cold civilities, suddenly seemed empassioned, thinking and speaking only of Darnley, and, wifelike, sitting for a whole night by his bedside, very attentive and very much grieved at his sickness.⁵ Such was Mary's passion at that period, that Throckmorton attributed it to a

¹ Camden, I., 90; Spottiswoode, II., 26.

² Bishop Keith, 278; Stevenson's *Illust.*, 139; Teulet, II., 202, 205; Lingard, II.

³ Stevenson, *loc. cit.*; Bishop Keith, 278; Letter of 21st May. The word "violence" is italicised in Keith's text.

⁴ Bishop Keith, 292; Melville's *Memoirs*, 135.—Chalmers, I., 217.—Blackwood in the complete works, edit., 1644, 540. An enquiry

historical and critical into the evidence against Mary Queen of Scots, by William Tytler. Prince Labanoff's edition, 109.

⁵ "... les mêmes offices que s'il estoit son mary, aiant durant sa malladie, veillé en sa chambre une nuit toute entière, et se montrant très soigneuse et ennuyée de sa maladie."—Paul de Foix to the Queen Mother. Teulet, II., 195.

spell.¹ Rumours were current; imagination and wickedness coined romantic anecdotes. "I hear," the French ambassador wrote from London, "that the Queen's familiarities with the Earl of Roze (Darnley) are growing every day, and, so much, that they are spoken of here little to her credit."² The Queen's enemies were glad; her relatives³ and friends inwardly regretted that departure from her dignity, but Mary listened to reproaches and counsels with girlish indifference. The slander which attacked her good name found her calm and serene.

There was necessarily a mystery. It was impossible to reconcile Mary's former reserve with the ardour which now consumed her. That earnestness which shocked every one roused Elizabeth's suspicions, and that wily Princess soon found out that Mary and Darnley had been united by a secret marriage. The wedding had taken place between the 7th and 13th of April; Darnley was ill until the 7th, and the marriage was known in London on the 15th. "Madam," wrote Paul de Foix to Catherine de Médicis on the 26th of April, "Mr Lethington arrived on the 15th of April, and there came letters also to the Queen of England from Randolph, her agent in Scotland, informing her that the Queen of Scotland had married my Lord Darnley, son of the Earl of Lennox, the church ceremony alone being wanted to make valid the marriage. The Queen of England is greatly displeased thereby, and has resolved to hinder it by sending Throckmorton into Scotland, there to persuade the Queen that she is not obliged to contract that marriage, and that it will be neither to her honour nor profit."⁴

From that time till the 29th of July, the day fixed for the solemn

¹ "I do find this Queen so captiv'd either by love or cunning, or rather, to say truly, by boasting or folly." Throckmorton to Elizabeth, Bishop Keith, 278.

² Paul de Foix to the Queen Mother, 18th June. Teulet, II., 207.

³ Ibid. Teulet, II., 199, 23d May.

⁴ "Le 15 Avril estant arrivé Monsieur de Lethington, pareillement arrivèrent lettres à la Royne d'Angleterre, par les quelles Randel, son agent en Ecosse, luy manda que la Royne d'Escoce s'est mariée avec milord Darnley, fils du Comte de Lennos, ne restant pour la consommation que les cérémonies de l'Eglise. Dont la dicte Royne d'Angleterre receut un très grand mescontentement. . . . Et se résolut à l'empescher, envoyant Throckmorton en Escosse pour là persuader à la Royne qu'elle n'est obligée à ce mariage et qu'il ne luy tour-

nera ni à honneur ni à prouffit." Teulet, II., 193. — "Il detto signore (Darnley) divenne ammalato, et ordinò la Reina che si servisse benissimo et fosse provisto d'ogni causa che bisognasse. Et in quel mentre conoscendo David di far piacere all' una et all' altra parte, trattò che insilme consumassero il matrimonio; il che fu fatto, et fossero da un capellano catholicamente sposati in camera di esso David, senza aspettare il ritorno di due che furon mandati in Inghilterra et Francia. Del che sendo la Reina d'Inghilterra awisata si dolse assai con quel ser Ledington, il qual difficilmente si disponeva a crederlo, ma per esser la detta Reina bien avvisata, l'assicurò fermamente del matrimonio concluso, et così Ledington se ne ritornò subito in Scozia." *Memoir addressed to Cosmo I., Grand Duke of Tuscany, Prince Labanoff, VII., 67.*

ceremony, events followed hard upon one another. Mary worked wonders, and quickly too; she caused her project of marriage with Darnley to be approved, and, spurred on by her brother, treated with the Protestants, and confirmed them in their liberty of conscience, while, claiming the same liberty for herself, she raised Darnley to the dignity of Baron and Earl, shortly to make him a Duke, endeavoured to gain over Throckmorton, asked the liberation of the Countess of Lennox, lessened by her prudence the evil effects of Darnley's backslidings, and won admiration even from her slanderers.

But all was very far from peaceful, and the Queen had yet much to do to gain her cause. The public mind was feverish and anxious. Lethington was no longer trustworthy.¹ Moray thought of seizing the Queen, and gave currency to the report that Darnley, jealous of the Earl's influence, sought his life. Deaf to the appeal of blood, and to the dictates of affection, Mary summoned Moray to prove what he advanced, and sent a safe conduct for himself and eighty persons of an escort.² Moray took no heed of her commands, but gradually widened the breach between Randolph and the Queen,³ and kept on slandering. Elizabeth openly encouraged the malcontents, and had sent to her a true account of what was taking place in Scotland.⁴ Mary was not free to act, and Darnley displeased the nobility by assuming airs of superiority.⁵ Judging from present appearances, it was easy to surmise the future, and Randolph, a witness to the universal agitation, informed Cecil of Darnley's approaching fall. "Hys behavior is suche," said he, "that he is runne in open contempt of all men, even of those that were hys chief freinds; whate shall become of hym, I know not, but yt is greatlie to be feared, that he cane have no longe life amongste thys people."⁶

Summoned to the Queen's presence Randolph conversed with her for more than an hour, and all the while closely watched the expression of Mary's face to find out whether she was speaking truly or not. Mary enlarged on the abuse received at the hands of Elizabeth, though she obeyed her, and on the injuries which had been done her, adding that the Queen of England was very wrong to be so angry at the marriage, seeing that she was left free on her side to wed whom she

¹ Miss Strickland, II., 122; Gauthier, I., 208.

² Bishop Keith, app. 108.

³ It is probable that Randolph was at heart opposed to Mary (Lodge I., 431), though appearances were against that belief.

⁴ Randolph to Cecil, 16th July; Bishop Keith, app. 162.

⁵ Randolph to Leicester, 21st May 1565; State Papers; Scottish Series.

⁶ Randolph to Cecil, 2d July, Bishop Keith, 287.

chose.¹ "But," said the ambassador, "you do well know that by other meanes then my mestress favour, nether you nor the Lord Darnlye coulde never have foote within the realme of Englande."—"I praye you," said she, "tell me what wolde the Queen my good systar that I shoulde do?"—"I know no better then to sende home both the Lord of Lenox and Lord Darnlie," answered Randolph, "then sholde my Mestress and your Grace be frendes and your countrie at good repose and quietnes, as yt was before."—"To sende them home, I maye not," replied the Queen, "is there no other waye but that?" Randolph then proposed to her another—to forsake her religion. "What!" exclaimed she, "wolde you that I sholde mayke marchandize of my religion, or frame myself to your menestors willes? yt cane not be so."² Thereupon she closed an interview, to prolong which was useless, if not dangerous.

The Scottish people were much interested in the Queen's marriage; by degrees the mystery, until then unfathomable, was being solved, and the affection of the people, for a time wavering, was rapidly returning. Mary delighted in walking about through Edinburgh; there she saw her subjects, and the sight of them touched her heart. Though threats came from the nobles, she strolled about with the Earl of Lennox, Lady Seton and others of the Court, shielded only by the love of her subjects.³ She was grieved when any one had to complain. Fiercely opposed and pursued by insurgent bands even to her palace, she wished her subjects to be at peace; though people tried to rob her of freedom of conscience she granted it to them. On the 17th of July she wrote various letters to the reformed Lords, assuring them that she meant peace, and wished to give no trouble to a religion which she had found established on her return from France; that all she desired was the welfare of her people.⁴

Then for a moment the sun of peace shone out joyfully from that dark and troubled sky. The Scots flocked daily to Edinburgh to see their Queen, and Mary innocently looked forward to happy days; but ill-will and sedition were smouldering; Randolph, though admiring the dignity of her conduct, was the only one who could find in his heart to write that the Queen was in bad odour with her people.⁵

When the dispensation from Rome arrived, Mary solemnly married

¹ "Let not her be offended with my marriage no more than I am with hers." Randolph to Cecil, 16th July, Stevenson, 118, sq.

² Randolph to Cecil, Stevenson, 124.

³ Miss Strickland, II., 155.

⁴ Knox, Reform. v., 331.

⁵ Randolph to Cecil, Keith, 301, formally denied by Castelnau, Jebb, II., 460.

Lord Darnley at Holyrood, after creating him Duke of Albany.¹ Scotland was overjoyed on that day; the Capital especially put on its festive dress, long laid by. At nine o'clock, on the evening before the marriage, the loud blast of the trumpet summoned the people to the Market Cross. The proclamation of the marriage and of Darnley's royalty² was hailed with frantic cheers, amid the oft-repeated cries of, "Peace and prosperity to the King and Queen." The face of every Scot beamed with delight as if the joy were his alone. Countless prayers for the Queen rose from her people to heaven that day, while she knew not what to entreat for them in return; for Mary was more touched by good wishes than by curses; she was much moved, and knew not how to show her gratitude; of insults she was patient, and tried to be forgetful; but she was powerless before those earnest expressions of love.

On the day of the marriage, between five and six o'clock, Mary was led to the chapel of the Palace. She was dressed in black; her costume reminded those around her of that which she wore at the funeral of Francis II. Immediately after the nuptial blessing, Darnley withdrew, unwilling to annoy the Reformers by listening to the mass. Mary stood still before the altar; but a dark cloud overspread the young bride's face. Young as she was, she had been visited by many cruel trials. Even at the foot of the altar, her thoughts were of her first husband, of the charms of a more brilliant Court, and of fair France. She married from necessity, rather than love, and seemed heedless of pleasure. After mass, however, she yielded to the wishes of those around her, and threw aside the mourning which she had worn so long.³ The day was spent in rejoicings, and the people shared in the royal bounties.

Strange as it may appear, those shouts of joy became, on the next night, wild cries of fury, which were kept up by the enraged Protestants till daylight.⁴ When Mary heard the reason of the disturbance, she called together the citizens, and told them to have no fear for religion.

¹ Diurnal of Occur., 80.

² Anderson has printed in his collection, I., 33, 34, two proclamations of royalty.

³ "She changed her garments, but went not to bedde, to signifie unto the worlde that yt was no luste moved them to marrie, but only the necessitie of her countrie; not, yf 'God will, longe to leave yt destitute of an heire. Suspicious men, or such as are geven of all things to mayke the worst, wolde that yt sholde be beleved that they knewe eache other before that theie came ther. *I would not your Lordship sholde so beleve, the likelihoods are so*

great to the contrarie, that yf yt were possible to se suche an acte done I wolde not beleve yt."

—Randolphe to the Earl of Leicester, 31st July 1565, Ellis, 1st series, vol. II., 203. M. Dargaud, who quotes this letter, and speaks of *the suspicions*, has omitted the last sentence, and continues to transcribe the letter to the very end without indicating, even by ellipses, that he has left out anything. I insist that is not fair play.

⁴ Paul de Foix to the Queen mother, 12 August.—Teulet II., 215.

Her words are remarkable, and place Mary in the first rank of wise and gentle Princes. Her ideas are those we now-a-days call liberal. "Though earnestly wishing to please you in all things," said she to them, "I cannot give up the mass; I have been brought up in the Catholic faith, I esteem it so holy and so agreeable in the eyes of God, that I cannot forsake it without doing injury to my conscience. In such matters, neither my conscience nor yours, ought to be forced. You have entire freedom of religion,—that ought to satisfy you. Pray, allow me the same privilege. I attack neither your lives nor your property; all is safe. Why not act in like manner toward me? As for the other things which you ask of me, and which I have no power to grant, you must submit to the decision of the States which are soon to be convoked. Accept also the assurance that I shall ever watch over your happiness, and endeavour, within the measure of possibility, to do what shall appear to me best."¹

All, wondering at the gentleness of their Sovereign, seemed satisfied with her reply, and were surprised that not a bitter word had escaped her lips.

¹ Paul de Foix to the Queen Mother 12th August.—Teulet, loc. cit.—Prince Labanoff VII., 54. Seeing that anxiety, for a moment lulled, was reviving, Mary issued on the 15th September a proclamation, which secured to the Scots the free exercise of their religion. See text, Teulet, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, 262 sq. Already, on the 20th March, "the Queen protesteth that she will be at liberty of religion, and that all persons shall

lyve as they will."—Stevenson's *Illust.* 135, and Sir W. Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith, Ellis, 2nd series, II., 298. That language contrasts singularly with that of the fanatics who wished "that the Papisticall and blasphemous mess, with all papistrie and Idolatrie, and Pope's Jurisdictionis be universallie suppressed and abolished through the haill realme, not only in the subjectis, but also in the Quenis Majesties awin person."—Bishop Keith, 541.

CHAPTER VI.

1565—1566.

MARY PARDONS THE EXILED—KNOX INSULTS DARNLEY—DEBATES WITH ELIZABETH—TAMWORTH IN SCOTLAND—TRIUMPH OF MARY—ELIZABETH INTERCEDES FOR MORAY—ALTERCATION BETWEEN MARY AND DARNLEY—CONDUCT AND DISPLEASURE OF DARNLEY—HE CLAIMS THE CROWN-MATRIMONIAL—PROJECT OF ASSASSINATING RICCIO AND DETHRONING THE QUEEN—PREPARATIONS FOR THE ASSASSINATION—SUPPER AT THE QUEEN'S—THE MURDER—BOTHWELL'S CONDUCT—THE QUEEN'S CAPTIVITY—THE CROWN-MATRIMONIAL—RECONCILIATION—ESCAPE.

MORAY, vexed at being eclipsed by Lord Darnley, took up a position more and more hostile. The Queen, to counterbalance his influence, and to have near her men ready and willing to act, recalled Bothwell, and reinstated George Gordon in the family estates and honours.¹ Since his banishment, Bothwell had occupied various positions,—at one time, a prisoner in England; at another, a fugitive in France. Through Moray's jealousy he had been forbidden to come to Scotland; that is why on his return he vowed a sincere attachment to Mary.

The Queen, by skilful acting, strengthened her party. Darnley, on the contrary, tried to support himself by meanness. He thought he might flatter Knox by attending his discourses, and thus gain his favour; but his dreams were not realised. Among the proud and the wicked, to humble one's self is to debase one's self. If those who are proud and wicked pursue with their clamours a man who sticks to his purpose, they, nevertheless, cannot but esteem him, but he who cringes to them ought to expect contempt. Darnley found that out. Knox harangued against the royal family, comparing the King to Ahab, and Mary to Jezebel, and saying that, as a punishment, God had given the people boys and women for rulers.²

Mary calmly and quietly let Knox compare her to Jezebel, Herod, daughter of Herodias, Nebuchadnezzar and Nero; but Darnley could not stomach those invectives. On his return from the sermon, he refused to dine, and shut himself up in his falconry for the rest of the day, away from the Queen and Court.³ Knox was arraigned before a

¹ Diurnal of Occur., 81, 84.

² Knox, Reform., v.

³ "The King was so moved at this sermon

that he would not dine; and, being troubled with great fury, he passed in the afternoon to the hawking."—Knox, Reform. v.

Court, and came attended by several gentlemen. His defence was of the same stamp as his sermon had been. He was for a time prohibited from preaching; but that was done without the Queen's sanction, for she was then busy with matters of greater moment.¹

Elizabeth had sent into Scotland, Tamworth, a man of her choice, to complain of the Queen's hasty marriage, demand the persons of Lennox and Darnley, and crave the pardon of the Earl of Moray.² The letter was, as it were, from a mistress to a slave. Tamworth had been ordered never to call Darnley King, and never to treat him as such.³ Mary refused to see the envoy, received the letter which he brought, replied minutely to every point in question, and dismissed Tamworth, who was much displeased at having obtained only a reply and no results.⁴ The Queen of England was mortified, and, in spite of the annoyance which she suffered from the various projects of alliance likely to come off, she preferred the sweets of revenge to marriage, and did all she could to foster the Scottish insurrection.⁵

That insurrection was headed by the Duke of Chatelleraut, the Earls of Argyll, Rothes, and Glencairn, the Lords Boyd and Ochiltree, and Kirkcaldy of Grange, along with the most violent reformers. Moray fired them with his rage, and Elizabeth backed them with her resources.⁶ After vain attempts to surprise Mary at Dunbar, they raised the standard of revolt.⁷ Mary undertook to scatter the rebellious troops massed near Stirling. On her approach, the rebels divided, some marching towards Lennox, the others in the direction of Ayr, on the way for Glasgow. The Queen's troops hung upon their rear, followed them closely, and reached Glasgow just as they had crossed the river. A terrible storm obliged her to stop the march,—the wind and rain beating the soldiers right in the face made the advance well-nigh impossible; besides, the river had overflowed its banks. The rebels, taking advantage of that delay, left their encampment at Paisley, proceeded towards Hamilton, thence made for Edinburgh, and managed

¹ Knox, *Reform.*, v.—*Diurnal of Occur.*, 81.—Miss Strickland, II., 181.

² Teulet, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, Supplnt. au Prince Labanoff, 255,—Elizabeth spoke of him in very good terms. "Et (Elizabeth) entra en plusieurs louanges de la bonne conscience, probité et bonté du comte de Moray, qui ne desiroit (comme elle disoyt) que le service de la Royne sa maistresse."—Paul de Foix to the Queen mother, 29th September.—Teulet II., 229. On another occasion she

called him "un des plus affectionnez serveurs que la Royne d'Escosse scauroit avoir."—*Ibid.*, 19th October, Teulet, II., 242.

³ Balfour's *Annales*, I., 334.

⁴ Teulet, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, 258. Camden, i., 93; Bishop Keith, app. 99, 101.

⁵ M'Neel Caird, *Mary Stuart*, 41 and Note I.

⁶ *Diurnal of Occur.*, 82 — Knox *Reform.*, v.

⁷ Prince Labanoff, VII 69.

to reach the capital. Moray could no longer contain his joy; he thought that the whole population would unite and proclaim him chief. He was, however, received with icy coldness, which became open hatred, when, to the sound of the drum, he announced that he should receive with joy all who enlisted for the defence of God's glory. The rebels, whom the peasants hated, being exposed to the fire of the Castle guns, and arrayed against large numbers of loyal Highlanders, fled with such confusion that they had no time to gain a fortified place.¹

Elizabeth, after the utter failure of that expedition, which she had secretly favoured, said, to every one who would listen, that it was a rash enterprise, and that she had never sanctioned it. In the presence of the ambassadors of France and Spain, she strongly blamed the authors of that unfortunate campaign, and dismissed them, calling them rascals and traitors.² So great was their cowardice, that not one of them dared to contradict her. Nicholas Throckmorton, Elizabeth's ambassador, was manly enough to confess that he was sent to Scotland solely for the purpose of exciting that revolt³; while Elizabeth, touched by the devotedness of the rebels, and by the dangers which they had run for her, asked their pardon from the Queen of Scots.⁴ Chatelleraut, through the intercession of Riccio,⁵ was pardoned, on condition of withdrawing to France, and the Earl of Moray too, might have been pardoned, had not de Rambouillet, ambassador of France, opposed the step in the name of the Cardinal de Lorraine.⁶

Mary had not only to uphold her rights beyond Scotland, and to guard her crown, but also constantly to cope with the mad pride of

¹ Teulet, II., 221. Bishop Keith, 314, 315-319. Lodge, I., 353. Miss Strickland, II., 188 sq.

² Melville's Memoirs, 135. Keith, 319. M. Mignet, I., 200 sq. M. Gauthier, I., 246. "Nunquam illa fecit spurio copiam oris et auris," says the historian Eytzinger, "quin potius convivium fecit ut ingrato, ut perduelli ut indigno luce communi." Eytzinger's History of Queen Mary, Brit. Mus. Copy, 23. Obert Barnet has frequently made use of that historian to compose his "Maria Stuarta Innocens."

³ Melville's Memoirs, 141.

⁴ Spottiswoode, II., 32. Castelnau, ignorant of the real state of matters, very innocently no doubt, made Mary seem obstinate by accusing her of wishing war at any price, while Elizabeth openly inclined towards peace. —Castelnau to the King, 6th October. Teulet,

II., 257. Elizabeth even dared to ask Mary "quelque honneste et honorable satisfaction," no doubt because her *protégés* had been beaten. —Prince Labanoff, VII., 58. See id., I., 295.

⁵ Prince Labanoff, VII., 70. Moray was vexed by that pardon; he reproached his sister for it in the Book of Articles presented to the conferences at Westminster. "Of all the noblemen then exil'd she granted remission, only to the Duke of Chatelleraut, knawin inemy to the king hir husband and his fader." —Book of Articles, Mr Hosack, 523. Knox, displeased with the discomfiture, caused a day of rigorous fast to be announced for prayer to Providence to "mollifie and mak soft the hartis" of the Queen towards the good lords exiled into England. —Diurnal of Occur., 88.

⁶ M. Mignet, Histoire de Marie Stuart, I., 230.

Darnley. Each day brought about a change, and the Queen's most trivial act was looked upon with suspicion. The first happy days had passed away quickly, and the misunderstanding between the royal couple was now a secret to no one. It was not Mary, but Darnley, who had changed. "His words to all men," wrote Randolph as early as the 31st of July, "against whom he conceiveth any displeasure, how unjust soever it be, are so proud and spitfull, that rather he seemeth a monarch of the world, than he that, not long since, we have seen and known the Lord Darnley. He looketh now for reverence of many that have little will to give it him; and some there are that do give it, that think him little worth of it. All honour that may be attributed unto any man by a wife, he hath it wholly and fully; all praises that may be spoken of him, he lacketh not from herself; all dignities that she can indue him with, wick are already given and granted; no man pleaseth her that contenteth not him; and what may I say more, she hath given over to him her whole will, to be ruled and guided as himself best liketh; she can as much prevail with him, in anything that is against his will, as your lordship may with me to persuade that I should hang myself; this last dignity out of hand to have been proclaimed King, she would have it deferred untill it were agreed by Parliament, or he had been himself 21 years of age, that things done in his name might have the better authority. He would, in no case, have it deferred one day, and either then or never."¹

Darnley showed great displeasure because Mary had entrusted Bothwell with the defence of the Scottish frontiers; his family urged him on, and the foolish young man, instead of resisting the entreaties of his relatives, loudly called for the carrying out of their wishes. A new expedition and new triumphs on the part of the Queen only increased his desire for the crown-matrimonial.² Mary refused, not from obstinacy, but from prudence. Neither Darnley nor Lennox was fit to govern: the one was too weak, the other too ambitious; both were ungrateful; to grant the kingship was to displease the nobility and imperil the peace established with so much trouble. The Queen, moreover, could grant that favour only with the sanction of Parliament,³ and she had already ineffectually sought Moray's support.⁴

Those refusals irritated the King's pride. He fancied that in Riccio

¹ Randolph to Leicester, 31st July 1565. Robertson, app. xi.

² Prince Labanoff, I. 295; Stevenson's Illustrations, 147-152.

³ Robertson, I. 353; M'Neel Caird, 35, 39, 40; Miss Strickland, II., 120.

⁴ Knox, Reform., v., 325.

he had either an enemy or a rival;¹ he was content at first to annoy him, hoping soon to get rid of him, and he kept tormenting the Queen with his demands. Those demands proving fruitless, he determined to gain his ends by violence. The Earl of Lennox approved of the course of conduct of his son when he learnt it.² The father and the son made known their design to the grumbling nobles, and the conspiracy, long quietly hatching in the breasts of all, was soon full of life and vigour. It was resolved to crown the King, provided he upheld Protestantism, killed Riccio, and shielded those who should bring about the *coup d'état*.³ George Douglas, Ruthven, Lindsay, Morton, and in fact, all the exiles, joined the conspiracy. Elizabeth winked at those criminal doings.⁴

The most remarkable point about the conspiracy, which was made up of men divided in interest and opinion, was that they had all along kept it secret. Mary, trusting to the love of her subjects, heeded not the opinions of the nobles. Her conscience was her safeguard. She had become less tender to Darnley, in the hope of making him change his habits of life. Violent and irresolute, insolent and weak, rash in conduct and in words, Darnley added to those family vices, drunkenness and coarse debauchery.⁵ The delicate feelings of the Queen of Scots must have been painfully shocked by such unseemly conduct; therefore she ceased to live with him. He blamed Riccio for that, and made up his mind to get rid of the Secretary, to be able to rule the Queen his wife. That was the sole reason for the conspiracy, which historians pass by, mindful, however, to register only calumnies.

Riccio was not as calm as the Queen. A French priest had warned

¹ Eytzinger positively asserts that Moray led him to understand it; Brit. Mus. MS. Copy, 24.

² According to a despatch sent from Edinburgh to Cosmo I., it was the rebellious nobles who drove the Earl of Lennox into the conspiracy: "La pratica fu tale, che dettero a intendere al padre del Re che se voleva aiutarli a rimettere nella gratia della Regina et nel Regno, che loro farebbono o per amore o per forza coronare il figlio, il quale non era in coronato, et non si coronerà mai, se altro non sopra viene,—Prince Labanoff, VII., 91. . . . Et perchè dicevano detti signori banditi che non potrebbero mettere a esequitione il loro disegno sin tanto que Davit fusse vivo, conspirorno la sua morte."—Ibid.

³ Prince Labanoff, VII., 64; Goodall, I., 227 sq.

⁴ M. Mignet, I., 209; Tytler, III., 215, 218.

⁵ "All people say that Darnley is to much addicted to drinking. 'Tis certainly reported there was some Jar betwixt the Queen and him at an entertainment in a merchant's house in Edinburgh. She only dissuading him from drinking to much himself, and enticing others; in both which he proceeded, and gave her such words that she left the place with tears." W. Drury to Cecil, 16th February 1566, Bishop Keith, 329. "He was somewhat given to wine, and much feeding, and likewise to inconstancy," Knox, Reform., v., 352. "His vices brought him to Incontinency, though the Queen was beautiful, and young enough a Princess."—Sanderson, 47.

him that his life was in danger, and the fear of that haunted him.¹ That unfortunate Piedmontese never was, as we have often read, the favourite of the Queen of Scots. He certainly was of lowly birth; his talents alone had made him thrive. He was one of a numerous family of a well-to-do musician in Turin, who had at an early period placed David and his brother Joseph at the Court of the Duke of Savoy.² He then came with the Piedmontese ambassador to Scotland, and settled there as a musician. He was afterwards made French Secretary, on the retirement of Raulet, the keeper of the Treasury and Secretary of State. His uprightness and devotedness in office won him the Queen's goodwill and the hatred of Darnley, whose wishes he did not carry out. His kindliness and attachment to the Queen marked him for the King's vengeance. Darnley believed him to be the cause of his wife's estrangement, and the imprudent foreigner, instead of currying favour with the young King, was seen with rich equipages and all the pageantry of a prince. So much show bitterly offended Darnley. Flatterers and evil-disposed persons fanned the flame, by calling attention to the brilliancy, luxury and power of Riccio, whilst he, the King, was living in a position dishonouring even to a simple lordling. By trumpeting the praises of Mary Stuart's secretary, and sneering at the position of Darnley, they kept his mind upon the rack, and at last drove him to revenge.³

At the wedding of Bothwell and Lady Gordon, Mary and Darnley became reconciled. The Queen might then have thought that she had gained her ends. Bedford was about to start for England, while Darnley gave promise of more steadiness. But there were mutterings of the coming storm. Knox and Craig, aware of what was going on, spoke words of sedition to the people, and brought forward from the Bible its most striking examples of murder; the death of Oreb and of Zeeb, the defeat of the Benjamites, the history of Esther, the execution of Haman and that of Jezebel were commented upon. Assassination was preached as a holy thing; the people trembled with rage. It was at first intended to slay Riccio at Seton, afterwards in the middle of the tennis court, where he often played with the King. An accomplice, whose name history does not record, was of another opinion. "It is not meet," said he, "to do this deed in such a place, the Queen not present; better is it to kill him in her presence, in her own room; the people must then believe that he was taken in adultery with her, and that the King could

¹ Sanderson's History, 41; Knox, Reform., v. Spottiswoode, II., 35.

² H. Glassford Bell, History of Q. Mary, I., 190.

not refrain from killing him on the spot.”¹ The common sense of that was granted by all the conspirators.

On the 9th of March, Morton, Ruthven and Lindsay, with a large following of armed men, went to Darnley. The King was at supper. At about eight o'clock he joined the Queen in her room above. He was accompanied by Ruthven, Andrew Ker, George Douglas and Patrick Bellenden. He entered alone. “My lord,” said Mary to him, “have you already supped? I thought you were at supper now.” Mary turned round, and Darnley, Judas-like, advancing a few steps, kissed her. The guests were Lady Argyll, natural sister of the Queen, the commander of Holyrood, the Laird of Creech, Arthur Erskine, and David Riccio, at the foot of the table.

The Queen had scarcely spoken when the cries of “Douglas! Douglas!” uttered by Morton’s followers, made the building quake. Mary, startled, turned to the King. She noticed Ruthven, followed by Ker and Lindsay, the first named being reported dead that very day. “My lord,” said Mary to Ruthven, “I thought of paying you a visit to-day, because you were very ill, and here you are in arms, what means it?” “I come,” said Ruthven, “to do you a service.” “And what service?” asked Mary. “To rid you of that gallant,” said the murderer, pointing to Riccio. “We will not have a slave for master.” Before Mary had time to answer, he ordered Riccio to follow him. In presence of danger, Mary recovered her wonted courage. “What would you do, traitor?” asked she with severity. “Justice to this David,” replied Ruthven. “Of what offence is he guilty?” said the Queen. “The greatest and most heinous in the world: he has offended your Majesty, the King, the nobility, the commonwealth.” “If he is guilty,” answered the Queen, “it is for me and the Lords of Parliament to do him justice.”

Without further ado, Ruthven moved towards Riccio. Closely pressed, and stricken with terror, the poor Piedmontese rushed to Mary. “Giustizia! Giustizia! madam,” cried he, “I die, save my life, madam!” “Fear nothing,” said Mary to him, “the King will hinder them from killing you in my presence; he has not forgotten your services.” Those words made Darnley hesitate, and meantime the Queen’s people seized Ruthven. “Lay no hands on me,” cried he, “lay no hands on me, for

¹ Uno dei complici disse non esser buono di farlo in quel luogo, all’assenza della Reina, per rispetto dei popoli, ma che facendolo alla presenza di lei et in camera sua, li popoli si

sarian creduti che egli fosse stato trovato in atto tale che il Re non harebbe potuto di meno che farlo morire allora.—Addressed from Scotland to Cosmo I., Prince Labanoff, VII., 72.

I will not be handled." In his hurry, one of the murderers upset the table and the lights, thereby adding to the disorder. Mary still fought on for Riccio. Prayers, threats, efforts, everything was done to drive back the conspirators, who pushed forward so violently that the Queen and her *protégé* were almost knocked over. Speechless and frightened out of her mind, Lady Argyll held the only light.

The scene was frightful, and likely to last. All struggled desperately amid profound silence, and dealt blows in the dim light. Ker of Fawdonside, forgetful of his allegiance, threatened the Queen with the pistol in his hand. "Strike," said Mary, "if you do not respect the royal child which I carry in my bosom." The villain dared to press the trigger, and it was not his fault that the shot was not fired. Darnley, not less ferocious, but, saying that nothing should be done to Riccio, seized the Queen, pushed her into an arm-chair, and kept her there, and at the same time he struck the victim to make him loose his hold of Mary's dress, to which he firmly clung. At length the impatient Douglas seized the King's dagger and plunged it into Riccio's body, whence the blood spurted over the Queen. Then it was all over; Riccio let go his hold, and the assassins dragged him out of the room. The poor wretch wept, prayed, grasped frantically at everything near, unwilling to die. But yield he must, and the murderers, revelling in their cruelty, left the corpse gashed with six-and-fifty wounds. Their bloody work over, they threw the body out of the window, and let it lie for some time in the porter's lodge, without a rag to cover it.

Ruthven did not follow his accomplices, but feigning weariness, went back to the Queen's room and demanded drink. The Queen was furious at that outrage. Ruthven would have it, and laying hold of a cup, filled it. "That blood," said Mary to him, "shall cost some of you dear: I will be revenged." The King was present; he had been quarrelling with the Queen, and she had been severely upbraiding him.¹ Coward that he was, he had not manliness enough to resent the insult done by Ruthven to the Queen. To a woman such an insult was outrageous, but to a Queen, a lady of refinement, how much more so must it have been! Bear in mind, reader, that Mary was to give birth to a child within three months, and what do you think of that brutal husband? Fired with wine, he had hoped that the deed

¹ Voltatasi la Reina verso il Re gli disse: "Ha traditore, figliuolo di traditore, questa è la recompensa che hai dato à colui che t'ha fatto tanto bene et honor così grande: questo è il

riconoscimento che dai à me per haverti inalzato a dignità così altà." La quale dette queste parole, incontanente svani. Prince Labanoff, VII., 75.

might be done in his wife's presence, and had taken all the risk of the Queen's death resulting therefrom.¹

While those things were taking place, Bothwell and the Earl of Huntly, after trying, with the cooks and servants, to beat back the assassins, had stolen away. The town was soon startled and in confusion. The tocsin roused the slumberers, and the startled multitude replied with clamour. Numerous crowds, grouped every here and there in the Canongate, stood waiting for orders or fresh tidings. The neighbourhood of Holyrood was blocked. A band of armed citizens, led by the Provost of the town, sought audience of the Queen. The murderers tried to scare them or pacify them; but they were deaf to kind words, and laughed at threats. Tired of bandying words with the citizens, the assassins told the King to speak to them with authority and order them to be off, under the severest penalties.²

Mary, from the room in which she had shut herself up, heard all the uproar, and her anxiety rose and fell with the turmoil on the streets. She wished to show herself to the people, but the conspirators would not yield to her in that, threatening to kill her and throw her out of the window, if she again expressed that wish.³ She then saw that she was indeed a prisoner.⁴ Her loneliness, after the recent dangers, had excited her imagination, and reduced her to a piteous state. "Poor Riccio," said she, "my good and faithful servant, may God have mercy on your soul!"⁵ Her ladies were at length allowed, as a favour, to be with her; but on condition that no one left the chamber.

Next day, the Earl of Morton, Chancellor of Scotland, presented himself at the palace. Introduced into the Queen's chamber, he said,

¹ Goodall, I., 268.—Detto Re consentiva alla morte della Regina sua moglie. Awisi di Scotia, Tytler, III., 402.—Letter of Bedford and Randolph to the Privy Council, Ellis, 1st series, II., 207-222, and Wright, vol. I.—Ruthven's narrative, Bishop Keith, app. 119, sq.—Craufurd's Memoirs, 5-9.—Mary Queen of Scots, her persecutions, &c., 143, sq. Pitcairn Criminal Trials, I., 478-486.—Prince Labanoff, Mem. Ital., Tome VII. Teulet, II., 260, sq. Patrick Anderson's Hist. of Scot. MS., Adv. Library, quoted in Birrel's Diarey, 5., Note O. Tytler, II., 211-220. Miss Benger, 233-256. Dissertation, I. at the end of 2d volume.

² Knox, Reform., v.—Spottiswoode, II., 36-38—"Il popolo cominciò a gridare et minacciare, che voleva vedere et parlare a la

Regina, se non che tutti metterebbono a fuoco et sangue il palazzo et la gente che vi era contra la Regina. Alhora il Re cominciò a comandare sotto pena de rebellione, che si dovessero ritirare; ma era poco obbedito et tuttavia cresceva il rumore."—Despatch addressed to Cosmo I. Prince Labanoff, VII., 94.

³ Mary Stuart to Queen Elizabeth. Prince Labanoff, VII., 301.

⁴ "She was holden in captivitie with in her chalmer, that na persoun nor personis mycht come and speik with hir, but thaj quhome thaj plesit." Diurnal of Occur., 91.

⁵ "Ah, povero Davit, mio buono et fedel servitore, Dio habbi misericordia di vostra anima!" Prince Labanoff, VII. 93.

that he did not come to justify himself in reference to Riccio's murder, of which he was innocent, but to make known to her that the States were about to ask her why she did not give the King the crown-matrimonial. "Cousin mine," replied Mary, "I have never refused to honour my husband in all ways; since I married him I have never ceased to do him good, or give him greatness and brilliancy; but the men in whom the King puts his trust are those who have wished to hinder me from so doing. Besides," added she, "I am a prisoner, and what I might do would be null and void."¹

She then went to Darnley, whom she found alone with the Earl of Lennox who was trying to settle affairs, and bring about a reconciliation betwixt them. "My Lord," said she, "what have I done to you, that you should so act towards me? I have drawn you from obscurity, I have taken you for a husband, and you betray me without my having offended you. If I have deserved death in doing you all possible good, what has that little innocent one done, which I now carry, and which I preserve only to increase your power. Do you not see that you give the world cause to talk, that the Christian Princes will be scandalised, and that those wicked ones in short wish my ruin only to overthrow you more easily."² Darnley, cut to the quick by those words, confused and sorry for his scandalous conduct, asked Mary if it was too late to quit the bad path on which he had entered, and promised to walk as she should direct him. The Queen replied that all must depend on his own discretion and obedience to her wishes.³

That same evening the Parliament was dissolved at the request of the conspirators, and the Catholics were ordered to leave Edinburgh.⁴

The report of that memorable murder had reached England, and Moray, informed of the deed, hurried to Edinburgh. He went at once to the Queen. "Ah, my brother," said she, embracing him, "in caice you had bene at hame, you wald not haue sufferit me to haue bene sa vncourtesly handlit." Moray moved by his sister's grief was forced to mingle his tears with hers.⁵

The murder being done, what came from it? Darnley, for a time bereft of reason, had been able to plot a murder, and carry it out fiercely,

¹ Prince Labanoff, VII., 75, 76.

² Caussin, Jebb II., 59.—Blackwood, *Martyre de Marie Stuart, Royne d'Escosse*, Complete Works, 551.—Prince Labanoff, VII., 77.—Castelnau de Mauvissière wrote on 27th Sept., to Paul de Foix: "ayant comme dict sa Majeste, infiniz advertissemens qu'ilz

les veulent tuer tous deux et tendent par tous les moyens à se faire roys eulx-mêmes, chose qui luy est insupportable. Teulet, II., 246.

³ Prince Labanoff, loc. cit.

⁴ Knox Reform., v.—Teulet, II., 262.—Sanderson, 41.

⁵ Melville's Memoirs, 150.

but there he had halted, conscience-stricken. Like all weak-minded men, he had for the moment been more hot-brained than others; the strain over, he became himself again, weak and irresolute as ever. He had done too much at a stroke to venture further. If the conspirators had been equally fickle of mind, things would have remained as in the past, but fear and ambition urged them to finish the work begun. The nobles, dreading a reconciliation betwixt the Queen and her husband, had guards placed at the doors of Mary's apartments, to stop visitors. That offensive precaution, though taken late, displeased Darnley, and shewed him he was not master. He was far from imagining he was little else than a slave. He learned the sad truth when he sent a message to the Queen by Sir William Stanley, who was turned away with these words: "No one may have passage through the guards without an order from the Lords."¹

That insult exasperated the young King, and in a fit of rage which knew not fear, he disbanded his confederates. The order was at once obeyed. They separated not knowing why, some of them believing that the Queen's health justified that hasty conduct. Further on we shall learn the then state of affairs.

Matters were becoming puzzling, and for the first time Darnley felt the unpleasantness of his position, though unable to avoid it. The Queen tauntingly told him that the conspirators would lay the blame at his door as soon as it answered their purpose: a prophecy which was very quickly fulfilled. From praising their boldness he came to dread their wrath. As he had stirred up the conspirators against Riccio, so they were now concerting measures against himself, and though able in the past to rouse passions, he could not now arrest their course. To free the Queen and himself from his former accomplices, now his masters, there was but one way: flight. They fled during the night of the 11th and 12th of March. By getting clear of the conspirators, Darnley completely defeated their plans. Finding themselves deserted by the King and the Earl of Moray, whom Mary had wisely conciliated, and encompassed by foes, they trusted little to the promises of the captive Queen, and found themselves left to their own resources, knowing neither what measures to take nor on whom to rely.

¹ Herries' Memoirs, 78.

CHAPTER VII.

1566.

MARY'S APPEAL TO HER SUBJECTS—TRIUMPHANT ENTRANCE INTO EDINBURGH—DARNLEY WISHES TO PUNISH THE GUILTY—THE QUEEN IS OPPOSED TO IT—RICCIO'S FUNERAL—MARY'S RELATIONS WITH ELIZABETH—BIRTH OF JAMES VI.—JOY OF THE NATION—SADNESS OF ELIZABETH—DARNLEY JEALOUS OF MORAY—HE WISHES TO KILL HIM—MARY'S JOURNEY TO ALLOA—THE QUEEN PARDONS LETHINGTON—DARNLEY'S OPPOSITION—MORAY'S QUARRELS WITH THE KING—WITH BOTHWELL—DARNLEY'S CALUMNIES—HIS REFUSAL TO ACCOMPANY THE QUEEN TO EDINBURGH—MARY'S ATTENTION TO HER HUSBAND—HIS UNGRATEFUL CONDUCT—MARY AT JEDBURGH—HER VISIT TO BOTHWELL—SHE IS TAKEN ILL—HER FEELINGS—DARNLEY'S CONDUCT.

MARY, wisely using her first moments of liberty, appealed to her subjects ; a proceeding more than ever necessary. The hatred of the Conspirators changed to fury when the news of the Queen's escape was whispered, and people dreaded desperate violence at their hands. Mary did not seek to hide her real position, but wrote to France that she was a "Queen without a realm."¹ The prudent way in which she defeated the projects of her perfidious enemies, alone saved her crown.

Her trusty nobles flocked around, and enabled her to struggle against the rebels, and to brave fortune. Great was the fear in Edinburgh. The murderers grew pale with fright, and sought to avert the danger, but seeing themselves deserted, they took to flight, and as best they could, made for England, their nearest refuge. The Queen arrived in Edinburgh on the 18th of March. The authorities met her at the gates of the town, where she was received with triumphant greeting. The honest people who had groaned over the past scenes were anxious to make their sovereign forget the insults heaped upon her. It never could have occurred to Mary during that night of anguish which followed Riccio's assassination, that she should be a Queen in the very place where late she had been a prisoner, exposed to all insults. Her faithful secretary murdered, the palace surrounded, and the traitors masters of her person ; tumult without, her friends compelled to be silent or to flee, even her husband agreeing to her death ; such was the situation on the 9th of March. Had Mary, at that dreadful crisis, been

¹ Prince Labanoff, VII., 78.

scared, it would have been all over with her, and her reign at an end. Thanks to her firmness, it was not so, and the people of Edinburgh, for a while frightened or misled, wished to show the gentle Queen how vexed they were for her sufferings.

A change then took place in the government. Morton, Lethington and several other conspirators had held the highest positions, and as they had left the country, their places were filled by others. The Earl of Huntly was made Chancellor, the post which Morton had held, and James Melville was made Secretary. In talent, inferior to Lethington, like him, he pretended to serve the Queen, though brimful of perfidy.¹

Mary, strong by that lucky turn of fortune, and by her rights, might have been expected to punish the guilty. For a time the people were busied with the subject, and the murderers, conscious of their crime, feared the anger of the Queen. No doubt Mary could have treated them as they certainly would have treated her, but such was not her disposition. Firm and immovable when she had to defend her rights, she was now gentle, humane, compassionate and soft-hearted. She wished to banish from her thoughts the crime which had been done, and to extend her clemency to the conspirators. She liked to forgive and increase happiness around her. Just now, when she might have taken revenge, and had good provocation for so doing, she put to death only two accomplices, who, though servants of the crown, had forgotten their duty and sided with the assassins.² The Earl of Lennox alone, whose foolish baseness and ambition forced him into every conspiracy, was not pardoned. Clemency to him would have been a mistake, and his mad pride would have burst all bounds had he got off with impunity. Justice and public order demanded that Mary should be firm, and she was firm. To all asking pardon it was granted; the others were called upon to clear themselves, and, on refusing to appear, were deprived of their estates till they submitted.

So much leniency after so much suffering was wonderful; Darnley found in it an excuse for scolding the Queen. Not satisfied with stating in a proclamation that he was guiltless, and throwing all the odium of the crime on the conspirators, he wished to chastise them severely. He thought that was the only way to prove he had had no share in the affair. The more clement Mary was, the more eagerly the Prince wished for punishment. Seeing at length that the Queen lent a deaf ear to all his entreaties, and thinking that she wished to make

¹ Chalmers III. 556. Goodall I., preface xviii. sq.

Chalmers I., 262. M. Wiesener, 81. Bishop Keith, 334.

him bear the blame of the assassination, he began to lead again his former disgraceful life. Darnley could not understand Mary's clemency to Moray, a thing which pained him, when he considered how unyielding she was to Lennox. His temper getting the better of his reason, he fancied that justice was not being done, and at length refused to live with his wife. Mary vainly tried to gain over that cross-grained nature, but Darnley withstood all her advances, and seemed a prey to some strange melancholy. He sometimes met the Queen and appeared for a time more social; then his humour would suddenly change and he would avoid all society. A certain *côterie* blamed the Queen for the King's sad existence, and calumnies grew rife as in the past.¹ Riccio's funeral, which, by Mary's orders, was conducted with pomp and solemnity, strengthened a suspicion which soon became a belief.

Elizabeth was delighted at the misunderstanding. She learned what was going on at the Court of Scotland from one Rokesby, who had gained the Queen's confidence, by representing himself to be an exile and a fervent Catholic. He told Mary that the Catholics of England were keenly interested in her affairs, and that, not daring to unbosom themselves to her ambassador, a Protestant, they had sent him as the interpreter of their feelings towards her. The Bishop of Ross, more zealous than prudent, backed Rokesby with his influence. Mary spoke to him too freely of her plans, and although Rokesby's statements are still unknown, certain it is that they did much harm to her interests. Elizabeth did not, however, reap all the advantages which she hoped for from that shameful manœuvre. That Rokesby was her spy was found out by Robert Melville. Rokesby was thereon thrown into prison. Letters from Cecil were found upon him, in which he was encouraged by valuable rewards to spy into everything. Elizabeth, for credit's sake, pretended to see in Rokesby only a fugitive subject, and claimed him from the Queen of Scots; the latter did not give him up at once, but promised to hand him over, after explanation, to those who should come to claim him, and there the matter dropped.²

¹ Some writers before and since M. Mignet, maintain that this conduct on the part of Darnley was the result of the "insurmountable aversion" which the Queen showed him, ever since the murder of Riccio. I shall just call the attention of those gentlemen to the fact that at the Parliamentary Session which preceded the Secretary's assassination, that young Prince whom they represent as "following everywhere her who repulsed him," refused to

accompany the Queen to Parliament unless he occupied the first place there, and went during that time to give his horses an airing at Leith. Knox Reform., v. 342. Miss Strickland, II. 271. If that is not, in the mind of those gentlemen, a conduct deserving of the greatest contempt, propriety need never again be spoken of.

² Bishop Keith, 337. Melville's Memoirs, Bannat. Club, 157.

An event of the utmost importance was now to bring grief to Elizabeth, and joy to Mary, in the midst of her sorrow. For some days the Queen of Scots had been thoughtful; she was about to become a mother, and that time, perilous for all women, was particularly so for her, from the troubles which had agitated her during pregnancy. She made her will. Her memory forgot no one; the child to be born was declared her heir, she thought of her mother-in-law, of her companions the four Marys, of the Earls of Lennox, Moray, Mar, Bothwell, Argyll, Huntly, and Atholl, and bequeathed to each some souvenir, with this general inscription: "remembrances to recall me to the minds of my good friends;" to the king she gave her most beautiful jewels and their marriage ring, as also another ring, with these words: "to the king who gave it me." The writing is blurred with tears.¹ Thanks to God that will was useless. On the 19th of June, Mary safely gave birth to a son in Edinburgh Castle.

The Castle guns at once announced the birth of a sovereign to Scotland; joy seized upon the town; all feuds vanished as if by enchantment; the people flocked to St Giles to thank God for the birth of a prince, and in the evening the town was brilliantly illuminated.² Melville was despatched to Elizabeth. He found her at a ball. As soon as she heard the news, the dancing was stopped, and the entertainment brought to a sudden close. The cheerful assembly wondered; every one asked the cause of so unexpected a change, for the news had been whispered to the Queen. Elizabeth sank into an arm-chair, and sat with head bowed down with grief. She, however, announced the cause of her trouble. "The Quen of Scotlandis," said she, to the ladies who pressed around her, "is leichter of a fair sonne, and I am bot a barren stok." On the following day, Melville again visited her; he found her very gay and magnificently attired, anxious to have the scene of the previous evening forgotten. She wished to learn all about the event, and thanked Melville for his haste.³

As the Queen of England was seriously thinking of marriage, the announcement that Mary had given birth to a son grieved her greatly. Melville undertook to console her after his own style, by telling her that the Queen, his mistress, had nearly lost her life; that was one way to dissuade Elizabeth from marriage, for she was very fond of life. Despite the repugnance which she felt, the Queen of England consented, with seeming gladness to be the god-mother of the new-born child.⁴

¹ Facsimile, Mr Hosack, 148.

² Hollinshed's Cronicles, II., 328.

³ Melville's Memoirs, 159.

⁴ Melville's Memoirs, 159.

On the occasion of the young Prince's birth, the King and Queen were reconciled, and people were led to hope that their long separation was at an end. When Darnley came to acknowledge the child in presence of the nobility, as was customary among the Kings: "My Lord," said the Queen to him, "God has given me and me a sone, begotten by none but you;" by those words she alluded to the calumnies which had been circulated in reference to her relations with Riccio. The King understood it; he blushed and kissed the child. Mary took her son from his arms, and uncovering his face, said: "My Lord, hear I protest to God, and as I shall answer to him at the great day of judgment, this is your sone, and I am desyrous that all hear, both ladies and others, bear witness." Then turning to Sir William Stanley: "This," said she, "is the sone whome, I hope, shall first unite the two Kingdoms of Scotland and England." "Why, Madam," replied Sir William, "shall he succeed before your Majestie and his father?" "Because, his father," said Mary, "has broken to me." The King was present hearing the conversation. "Sweet Madam, replied he, is this your promise that you made to forgive and forget all?" "I have forgiven all," said Mary, but will never forgett. What if Fawdonsyd's pistoll had shott, what would have become of him and me both? or what estate would you have been in? God onlie knows, but we may suspect." "Madam, these things are all past," said the King. "Then let them goe," added the Queen.¹ On the same day, Darnley wrote to the Duke de Guise, announcing the happy news.² Gaiety and contentment re-appeared at the long troubled Court of Scotland. There were some days of happiness, alas! soon changed into sadness, through the faithlessness of the young King.

Darnley, during those rejoicings, noticed Moray's influence over the Queen; the power given him, the confidence placed in him, and the pardon extended to the criminals at his request, aroused the King's anger. The safety of his accomplices was a torment to him, not that he wished them dead, but because they were divulging the crime which he was endeavouring to hide. Through spite, he blamed Moray for everything, and resolved to kill him, pretending that never could the Queen be in safety, or Scotland at peace, so long as that ambitious man saw the light of day. There was some truth in his thoughts, but being so exaggerated, they could not be received. The Queen, on learning his

¹ Herries' Memoirs, 79.

² F. von Raumer, Contributions, 87.

resolve to kill Moray, could not contain her indignation. "What," exclaimed she, "it is not enough for you to have murdered my secretary, but you must dip your hands in the blood of my brother also!" Darnley was astounded, and from that day those words were ever sounding in his ears. The Queen had welcomed him so kindly that he at length had believed she thought him innocent. That speech tore the veil from his eyes, revealing a reality and not a dream.¹

Mary's health, until then vigorous, had received so severe a blow from the scene of the 9th of March, and from her confinement, that she thought it advisable to remove from Edinburgh to Alloa Castle, a seat of the Earl of Mar, to enjoy rest and a change of air. As the journey was to be by water, Bothwell, as Lord High Admiral of Scotland, was ordered to get the vessel ready. He assigned that duty to his subordinates, as the disturbances on the Border required his presence in Liddesdale. Mary set out on the 27th of July, very early in the morning. She took with her the Earls of Mar and Moray, as well as her ministers and several ladies of distinction.² Darnley, not wishing to be face to face in a boat with those whom he hated, went by land, and reached Alloa Castle at the same time as the Queen. The French ambassador arrived there two days later, and was magnificently treated. Killigrew, who came after him, received a similar welcome.³ All was life at the Earl of Mar's manor,—receptions and rambles formed an agreeable change from the affairs of state. There Mary convoked for the 13th of August the nobles of the ten counties, to reduce the unruly Border counties to order, and it is probable that on that occasion Bothwell came to join the Court at Alloa.⁴

¹ Herrera, *Historia del Reyno de Escocia*, 74; Blackwood, 556; Miss Strickland, II., 354.

² M. Wiesener, 69; Chalmers, I., 278.

³ Goodall, I., 294; Prince Labanoff, I., 364.

⁴ The author of the *Detection* has written in Book xviii. of his *History of Scotland*, a sentence which has been reproduced, word for word, in the Book of Articles: "Ac velut (Regina) vereretur ne favor is obscurus esset, quodam die cum uno et altero comite, summo mane, ad portum quem novum vocant descendit, cunctisque insciis quo properaret, naviculum ibi præparatum ascendit. Ornauerant autem eam Gulielmus et Edmondus Blacateri, Eduardus Robertsonus, et Thomas Dicsonus, omnes Bothuellii clientes, et notæ rapacitatis piratæ. Hoc igitur comitatu latronum, cum summa om-

nium bonorum admiratione, se mari commisit, nemine ne ex honestioribus ministris assumpto. In Alloa vero, Comitissæ Mariæ arce, quo navis appulit, per aliquot dies ita se gessit, ut non modo Regiæ Majestatis, sed matronalis etiam modestiæ, oblita videretur." I place under the eyes of the reader, although with repugnance, the words of Buchanan, and I note, in passing, that no correspondence, no contemporary writer, even among the least scrupulous towards the Queen, speaks of those clandestine debaucheries. All that we know is that Castelnau de Mauvissière was there "joifullie received, corteously intertained, and highlie rewarded," and that Killigrew, who came after him, was received with the same attentions. Hollinshed's *Cronicles*, II., 328, 329, That the Queen

Some criminals still remained to be pardoned, but the Queen seemed to have forgotten them. In granting pardon to the least guilty, she acted with clemency; she dreaded to be thought weak by forgiving them all without distinction. At the outset, she had refused to listen to Moray's entreaties. He did not, however, consider himself beaten; he begged her anew to grant a general amnesty to mark the Prince's birth, and had the ambassadors of France and England to help him. Darnley left no stone unturned to baulk him. The return into favour of Lethington and his friends would naturally embolden his adversaries. He felt it, and did his utmost to prevent the danger. He was right, and that time his course of action, though far from disinterested, was wise. With Moray, some power was left to him; with Lethington, he ran the risk of losing all. His efforts were vain; Mary yielded through consideration for France and England. On the 2d of August, Lethington had an audience, in Alloa Castle, proved his innocence, was received and pardoned.

That ill-timed clemency kindled, in the heart of the young King, wrath, which he could no longer master; he was so enraged, that he uttered the most violent threats against Moray. He could not coolly see his accomplices, one after the other, returning into favour. He had led them into crime; the coward then deserted them, and left them to their fate, and now wished to punish them. His outrageous conduct made him the object of pity and contempt.¹ He returned to Edinburgh soured in temper. Mary did all she could to console him; she tasked her ingenuity to amuse him; she went hunting with him to Ettrick Forest, thinking to calm his troubled mind. He remained in the same temper, and, without any other pretext of quarrel than the favour in which the Queen held Moray, fled to Dunfermline, thence to Dalkeith, and was not heard of for a long time.²

Bothwell, too, was not more pleased, and showed his anger by acts as foolish as those of the King. With his fiery disposition, he could not choose the middle course. Stern, bold, stubborn, and a slave to vices

was never alone, that, independently of the visits, she was accompanied the whole time by the Earls of Moray and Mar, who, though they were perhaps not "*ex honestioribus ministris*," were, however, men not to be easily taken in; that the King came there to visit Mary, and that he even spent two nights with her (Keith, 345); and that Bothwell, sent to the Border, (Miss Strickland, II., 347) was probably not at Alloa during the first days (Ibid, 357.)

¹ Historians cannot find terms strong enough to brand his conduct. "He was," says Robertson, "weak, foolish, insolent and intolerable." The History of Mary Queen of Scots, 49,— "His pride and violence were intolerable." M'Neel Caird, 35,— "He was a most unhappy compound of insolence and imbecility,"— Mr. Hosack 121.

² Goodall, I., 295; Chalmers, I., 284 sq; Miss Strickland, II., 362.

the most wicked and the most likely to bring down hatred on him, he redeemed those terrible faults by a loyalty which led Mary to spare him. When Moray spoke to him of handing over Haddington Abbey to Lethington, he would not hearken to him, and when he saw that the bastard was vigorously preparing to rob him of it, he broke out into bitter words, swearing that he would rather give up his life than the Abbey. Bothwell, threatened by Moray, and weakly aided by the Queen, who was more anxious to retain her brother's friendship than his, secretly left the Court.¹

Had not Mary been prudent now, the affairs almost amicably settled would again have been disturbed, for Darnley had fled with the intent to do hurt. Bothwell had been forced to flee to save his life; the English party had joined the double-dealing Moray, and the Protestants were ready to break out. All that disorder made the situation a difficult one. The parties threatened one another loudly, and Mary had to be on her guard lest she should offend any of them. She endeavoured to conciliate the nobles by gentleness, and honoured them, irrespective of their religious opinions. No doubt she would have supported the growing vigour of Protestantism; but, finding it adopted by many, and strongly rooted, she was satisfied, for the sake of peace, to seek for herself the liberty of worship which her subjects enjoyed. Thus, she anticipated centuries, and, amid those fierce spirits who, in the name of God, ravaged the land at that period, she raised herself above hatred and human respect, by granting greater liberty to her subjects. Darnley, who allowed no opportunity to pass of doing injury to Mary, availed himself of that one to write to the Pope and the Kings of France and Spain, accusing his wife of religious indifference. The Legate in France helped to spread those outrageous reports.²

During all that time there was a perfect round of reconciliation and coolness between the King and Queen. The smallest matter, the most paltry difference offended Darnley. He would abruptly leave the Queen and return shortly after. On the 11th of September, at the request of the Privy Council, Mary repaired to Edinburgh. She told Darnley to accompany her, but the fickle young man refused, although they were then on good terms. A week later, weary of his loneliness, he conceived the

¹ Robertson, *app.* xvii.

² "About the same time, by the advice of foolish cagots, he (the King) wrote to the Pope, to the King of Spain and to the King of France, complaining of the state of the country,

which was all out of order, all because that mass and Popery were not again erected, giving the whole blame thereof to the Queen, as not managing the Catholic cause aright."—Knox, *Reform.*, v.

silly idea of going into exile. Du Croc and Mary pleaded with him. Always ruled by that surly humour which did not allow him to live with his wife, or have peace of mind away from her, he came of his own accord to Edinburgh, but was not a whit more social. He took up his quarters in a private house, and would not go to Holyrood, although the Queen had expressed her desire to that effect. That gratuitous insult grieved Mary; but, instead of being irritated at it, she went and brought her husband to the palace. Her anxiety about him was great, and Darnley insanelly fancied that by running away from her he could break her heart. When Mary asked him what vexed him, he would not tell her. Like wilful children who delight to tease those to whom they owe their birth, Darnley was happy to see the Queen grieved by him. During the night, amid the endearments of wedlock, Mary again tried to learn from her husband the motive which made him so act. She begged and begged in vain. Her anxiety went so far that she wished to learn before her Council the reason of such strange conduct, were it only to close the mouth of slander, by showing with whom the fault lay. It ended in an affecting scene. Darnley, in presence of the Council, said nothing. The Queen gently entreated him to tell before the Council what he withheld from her during the night, and to state, whether or not, she had in any way offended him. Darnley was silent. Then Mary, hurt by obstinacy so stubborn, took his hands, praying that "for God's sake he should not spare her, and promising all satisfaction," to which appeal he was deaf. The Council and the French ambassador in vain joined their prayers to those of the Queen; he remained obstinately silent. Asked by du Croc if the Queen had given him any reason to be displeased, he at last replied that "occasion he had none," then seeing the joy which those words afforded his wife, the Council and du Croc, he said coldly, "Adieu, Madam, adieu, you shall not see me for a long time," and having added, "Adieu, gentlemen," left the chamber. "We remained beside the Queen," says the ambassador du Croc, who relates the interview, "and begged her to continue good and virtuous, and not to grieve or annoy herself about the matter, as the truth would certainly be known everywhere."¹

When his temper had cooled down, and the ill-nature which closed his mouth had vanished, he wrote from Glasgow a letter of explanation. There were two reasons for that exhibition of temper. One was, that

¹ Du Croc to Catherine de Médicis, 17th October, Teulet, II., 291; the Lords of Privy Council to the Queen mother, 8th October,

Bishop Keith, 347; Teulet, II., 287; Prince Labanoff, I., 376; VII., 96.

though a King, he was one only in name, as he had no authority ; the other was that he thought he had all along been slighted.¹ The Queen replied that she had honoured him from the beginning, as much as lay in her power, and that he had returned her kindness only by joining conspiracies ; that, notwithstanding his unbecoming conduct, she always treated him with the same respect, and that, far from reproaching him with the murder of her faithful servant, she had constantly excused him.² That explanation restored neither confidence nor friendship, and the Queen had to bear the affliction of seeing that the evil was without remedy.

As early as the month of July, Mary had decided that the extraordinary Assizes should be held at Jedburgh, and that Bothwell should meanwhile keep order on the Borders. That arrangement displeased the nobles of the county. They knew that Bothwell had been driven to most fearful acts out of revenge, and that he could not be bribed. To keep safe the means of retreat into England, they enlisted Bedford on their side, and prepared to resist Bothwell if he should come alone. The Assizes, at first fixed for the beginning of August, were, for various reasons, put off until the 8th of October. Bothwell was ordered to seize the principal culprits of the Border, and keep them in the castle of the Hermitage. The Lairds of Mangerton and Whitehaugh, and several Armstrongs, were at first seized and locked up ; but the Elliots had fled, and they were the most dangerous enemies on account of their power and undaunted courage. Chance would have it that Bothwell and John Elliot of the Park should meet alone. They attacked each other with fury. They were well-matched, and their bravery, quickened by anger, was undoubted. After a heroic fight, John Elliot had the worst of it, and was obliged to crave quarter from his foe ; Elliot, dreading his vengeful hands, ran away, leaving his horse with Bothwell, who, irritated by the indecisive issue of the fight, fired his pistol at him to prevent his escape, and went after him. The soil was too marshy for a quick pace, and Elliot, running swiftly, increased the distance

¹ "Melvil m'a dit qu'à son parlement le roi d'Ecosse étoit sur le point de s'en aller en Flandre, disant pour couleur qu'il étoit jeune et qu'il vouloit aller voir les pays étrangers et que de là il pourroit passer en France ; mais que la principale occasion étoit le mécontentement qu'il avoit que la reine ne lui vouloit point faire avoir la *couronne matrimoniale*."—Bochetel de la Forest to the

King, 21st October, Cheruel, 48. There is to be found in the Inventories of Queen Mary a great number of presents from Mary to Darnley in the course of the year 1566. Some reveal the most delicate attentions.—See Inventories, 19, 29, 34, 39, 51, 115, 123, et passim.

² Letter from the lords of the Privy Council, previously quoted.

betwixt them. Bothwell, in his hurry to dismount, lost his balance and fell into a slough. He was still stunned from his fall, when Elliot came back and wounded him, first in the head, and then in the breast and hand. Maddened by such cowardice, Bothwell fired only two shots at him, but they proved fatal, for Elliot crawled to a neighbouring hill, where he breathed his last. Bothwell, in a swoon and weltering in his gore, was found by his servants, and carried to the Hermitage. What most grieved the brave warrior was to see the brigands, whom he had locked up, now masters of the fortress, and willing to admit him, only on condition of having their liberty.¹

That took place on the 7th of October, and next day, Mary, with her ministers, council and principal officers of justice, left Edinburgh, and repaired to Jedburgh, where she found the nobles assembled. She opened the Assizes in person, and presided over them for a whole week. She then thought of thanking Bothwell, and her councillors, hiding their jealousy of the courageous earl, urged her to perform the journey; several even wished to accompany her. On the 16th of October, in spite of the weather and the almost impassable roads, Mary set out, taking with her Moray, Lethington and several others of her ministers, and, after a ride of twenty miles, they reached the Hermitage. Bothwell was glad to see her; he appreciated all the delicacy of her coming. She conversed for a long time with him in presence of her ministers, regarding the state of the country, and, in the afternoon, she returned by the same route. "Had it not been for the fatal steps taken afterwards by Bothwell," says Guthrie the historian, "I may venture to say that her (Mary's) visiting him (Bothwell), would have been considered by impartial posterity as a noble instance of firmness and humanity."²

When Mary got back to Jedburgh she sent Bothwell a number of papers written by her about the grave position in which he was. On the morrow the scene changed, and affairs became most serious. Such is the course of human events. Mary had held the Assizes, visited her devoted lieutenant, and put all in order for the future. Just as the

¹ Diurnal of Occur., 100, 101; Tytler, III., 228.

² Guthrie, Hist. of Scot., Vol. VI., 357; M. Wiesener, Marie Stuart et le Comte de Bothwell, 115, 116; Bishop Keith, 352; Life of Mary Stuart, MS., British Museum; Cotton, Lib. Caligula, iv.; Tytler, III., 229. "La Royne vostre belle-fille," writes du Croc to Catherine de Médicis, 17th Oct., "en venant

en ceste ville de Gédouart (Jedburgh), M. le comte de Bodwell qui s'estoit mis devant, pour ce qu'il est lieutenant général de ceste frontière, il lui advint en faisant une charge de larons, qu'il fut bien blessé, mais il est hors de danger, de quoy la Royne est bien fort ayse; *ce ne luy eust pas été peu de perte de le perdre.*" Prince. Labanoff, l. 378; Teulet, Vol. II.

affairs of the kingdom were being firmly settled, and when she might hope to enjoy a moment of repose, she was taken ill, and brought with amazing quickness to the brink of the grave. For two hours¹ she lay in a stupor, one could scarce say whether dead or alive. Then came delirium which held her for several days. That illness, which was to show to the world the Queen's magnanimity, revealed at the same time Darnley's meanness and ingratitude. Informed on an early day of his wife's danger,² he felt no uneasiness, but went on hawking, and did not trouble himself to visit her.

During her brief intervals of reason, the Queen edified every one around her. She asked God's forgiveness for her sins, and prayed Him to give her a contrite and penitent heart. "In granting me time for repentance," said she, "He has already showed me great mercy." Those were her first words; scarcely were they uttered, when she fell asleep, seemingly unconscious of all that took place around her. Next day she became clear in mind, and, calling her attendants, said to them with a weak voice: "I have now but few hours to spend here below, and I shall exchange this life for a better. No doubt I have been fond of life, but I do not find it hard to resolve upon death. God is our master, we are the work of His hands; His will be done." That return to reason seemed to all a happy omen; she expressed a desire to have prayers. Catholics and Protestants obeyed.³ She then exhorted the nobles to be peaceful and united, saying that with discord, good itself was but feeble and unprofitable. About those who were a trouble to her she added; "I forgive from my heart those who have offended me, especially King Henry and the nobles now in exile, although they have much grieved me; only, if they return to this kingdom after my death, I desire that they may not come near to the Prince, my son." She entreated them also to grant freedom of conscience to the Catholics, saying that it was offensive to interfere with any one in matters of religion.⁴

Du Croc, warned of what was taking place, hastened to the Queen;

¹ The *Diurnal of Occurrents* says further: "The Queenis majestie wes sa hevillie vexit with the het feveris, that thair was nane that belevit that she suld leive, and lay fra nyne houres to ane efternone as tho haid bein deid." —*Diurnal of Occur.*, 101.

² Chalmers, l. 297.

³ "The 25th October," writes Birrel, "vord came to the toune of Edinburgh, frome the

Queine, yat her Majestie wes deadly seike, and desyrit ye bells to be runge, and all ye peopell to resort to ye kirk to pray for her, for she wes so seike that none lipned her life." —*Diarey*, 6.

⁴ *Historie of James the Sext*, 2, 3; Craufurd's *Memoirs*, 3, 4; John Lesley to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 26th October, *Bishop Keith, App.*, 134, 135.

she recognised him. "Monsieur l'ambassadeur," said she to him, "remember me to the King, your master, I hope he will protect my dear son; tell him from me that I desire he would give one year's revenue of my dowry after my death for the payment of my debts and servants' fees; but above all, tell the Queen-mother, that I heartily and sincerely ask her forgiveness for all those offences which I either did commit, or was said to have committed, against her."¹

She also commended her son to the care of the Queen of England.² At the thought of that poor child left so young in the hands of strangers, seeing that his father could not be trusted with his upbringing, she felt a painful dread for him. "I pray you," said she to the nobles, "do not suffer that during his tender youth, corrupt natures should approach him, to give him bad examples, but let only those come near him who can train him to piety and virtue; and do not allow him to give way to the bad inclinations which the blood whence he springs, or the company which he keeps, might give him."³

After those entreaties her reason again fled; she lost both speech and consciousness; the icy coldness of death was nearing life's citadel, the heart. On the sixth and the seventh day of the fever she was so low that all lost hope of her recovery. Silent and sad stood the nobles around their Queen, so young and so beautiful, on the verge of eternity, as they thought. She was dear to them all, both Catholics and Protestants; they, dreading to lose her, only now appreciated her merits.⁴ Had that been Mary's last moment, whatever government ruled during her son's minority, that one would have desolated Scotland; but then, unfortunate one, how many trials should'st thou have escaped! Such was not the will of God. Admired as a queen, she must yet drink to the dregs the cup of bitterness, and give the world an example of queenly heroism. But for that illness historians might revel more freely in their hateful charges; in the presence of death, the veil has been rent, and truth shines pure and clear; the loyalty of the nobility was proved, and Darnley, who would not leave his dogs and falcons to visit his wife, stood forth self-accused. The mystery of their separation was being unravelled.⁵

¹ Mackenzie, *The Scots Writers*, III., 281.

² Prince Labanoff, VI., 136.

³ John Lesley's *Letters and Historie of James the Sext*, loc. cit.

⁴ *Lloravan todos (los hereticos) dziendole la gran perdida que les vendria de su muerte.*

D. Frances de Alava to Philip II.; Teulet, V. 18.

⁵ "The King all this tyme remaneis in Glas-cow, and zit is nocht cumm towart the Quenis Majestie."—John Lesley's Letter, quoted above. "Il a été adverty par quelqu'un et a eu du temps assez pour venir s'il eust voulu: c'est

Mary's hour of death had not yet come. On the ninth day of her illness, there was a marked improvement, and hope grew strong. On the 28th, Darnley, tired of hunting, or no longer able to withstand the entreaties of his friends, went to Jedburgh to see the Queen. She endeavoured to win him back to his duty and to more seemly ways, but it was in vain. He left on the morrow. The nobles were wounded by his heartlessness.

une faulte que je ne puis excuser."—Du Croc 133 ; M. Wiesener, Marie Stuart et le Comte to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Keith, App., de Bothwell, 122, 123.

CHAPTER VIII.

1566-67.

MARY'S JOURNEY TO CRAIGMILLAR—SHE WRITES TO THE COUNCIL OF ENGLAND—IS VISITED BY DARNLEY—HER DESPAIR—THE LORDS PROPOSE A DIVORCE—MARY'S REPLY—A CONSPIRACY IS FORMED AGAINST THE KING—NAMES OF THE CONSPIRATORS—MARY'S DEPARTURE FOR STIRLING—BAPTISM OF JAMES VI.—DARNLEY'S CONDUCT—TEMPORARY RECONCILIATION—MINISTERS ASK MARY TO PARDON THE BANISHED NOBLES—MARY'S RELUCTANCE TO DO SO—SHE PARDONS MORTON AND HIS ACCOMPLICES—DARNLEY'S ILLNESS—MARY SUSPECTED—DARNLEY CONSPIRES AGAINST ELIZABETH'S GOVERNMENT—MARY IN GLASGOW—HER INTERVIEWS WITH DARNLEY—RETURN TO EDINBURGH—WHITTINGHAM CONVENTICLE—THE HOUSE AT KIRK-OF-FIELD CHOSEN BY MORAY—PREPARATIONS FOR THE MURDER—LORD ROBERT INFORMS DARNLEY—MORAY QUILTS THE COURT—THE 9TH OF FEBRUARY—BASTIEN'S MARRIAGE—MARY'S LAST VISIT—HER ATTENTIONS TO DARNLEY—EXPLOSION—MURDER—MARY'S ATTITUDE.

THERE were many things to bring illness on the Queen of Scots, for she had no lack of cares. For a long time her health had been visibly impaired; her illness was nevertheless attributed to the journey to the Hermitage. Enemies pretended later that it was the effect of her passion for Bothwell.¹ But if one calmly considers the circumstances of the journey thither, it will be found that a foggy and unhealthy country, a damp autumn, and a fall from her horse on the way,² must, together, enfeeble a health already failing. She stayed at Jedburgh until the 9th of November, and a remarkable feature of those Assizes was, that, though many were guilty, no one was put to death. Mary hated violent measures, and would not take revenge; she resolved to be merciful now, and the country was quieted, though no blood was shed. At Kelso she received from Darnley, letters, which grieved her much, and might have brought back her old illness.³

The bustle of her departure for Berwick occupied her mind, and for

¹ "Quhiddel it was be ressoun of thair *nichtlie* and *daylie* trauellis, dishonorabill to thame-selfis, and infamous amang the Pepill, or be sum secreit Prouydence of God, the Queen fell into sic ane sair and dangerous seikness, that scarcely thair remanit ony hope of hir lyfe." Detection II. That quotation shows what

basis can be made of the writings of that calumniator. Although Mary remained only half a-day at the Hermitage, her *daily* and *nightly* fatigues are spoken of. And there are people who believe it!

Miss Strickland, III., 19.

³ Detection, 12.

a while drove away her cares. Her retinue was numerous and brilliant; the best of the nobles accompanied her, and an escort of more than eight hundred men gave to her progress the appearance of a triumph. The same joyous greetings as would have hailed the Queen of England awaited her. Sir John Forster, commander of the place, came with his officers and the men of note in the town, to meet her at the Border; the cannon of the castle thundered forth her approach; she had a magnificent ovation, and felt no small pleasure at finding herself loved in England as well as at home.¹

It was easy to lead Mary to believe that Elizabeth had had a hand in those gracious doings, and that she had recovered from her jealousy, after learning that the Queen of Scots, on a bed of sickness, had commended her infant son to the care of the English Queen. She thought the hour propitious, and availed herself of that change in Elizabeth's feelings to have her right of succession to the throne recognised. Thinking that Elizabeth's Privy Council might influence her determination, she wrote at Dunbar, to the Lords, a letter full of the greatest wisdom.²

Mary reached Craigmillar Castle on the 20th of November. Although she found herself received everywhere with the utmost cordiality by her people, and, surrounded by trusty nobles, thought her power likely to be strengthened for a length of time, yet she was sad. Mirth wearied her; she sought solitude, and that brilliant and joyful court which before had charmed her, now made her low-spirited. She suffered cruelly from a pain in her side, and was heard to exclaim earnestly: "I wish I were dead!"³ A profound grief which nothing could remove, and a melancholy which no joy could soothe, ever beset her. Darnley's arrival (26th November) brought her a passing relief. There was in her heart's core a faint hope that she might win back the lost one, and she was happy to see him again. But Darnley was still the same; exacting, capricious and unjust; he wished the Queen to throw herself at his feet, but he would not stoop in the least to her. During the eight days which he spent at Craigmillar, (26th November till 3d December) the Queen had one annoyance after another. The nobles were indignant, and Darnley, unaware that he himself was the cause of their displeasure, thought that all wished him harm.

To his misfortune, he was watched and closely followed by Moray. Under cover of serving the Queen, that man, greedy of power, was really working out his own ends. Darnley was an obstacle to his pro-

¹ A letter of Lethington, Bishop Keith, 353, 354.

² Prince Labanoff, I., 382.

³ Du Croc's letter.—Bishop Keith, vii.

jects of ambition, and that poor giddy-head was too weak and had too many failings, not to give his enemy some hope of crushing him. Since Riccio's murder, the Queen did not know in whom to confide, but at last had put her trust in her brother. Hemmed in by traitors and conspirators, she thought to find a defender in that brother; never was confidence more misplaced; but from amid that perfidious host which one ought she to have chosen? Moray could approach the Queen without giving rise to the calumnies which were hinted at from the presence of Riccio and Bothwell; he was powerful, and could keep the nobles in check; Mary's position forced her to take everything into account. Besides, Moray, before the world, treated her with the greatest respect, and, if he dreamt of hurling her from the throne to his own gain, he showed none of the base ingratitude which filled his heart. But that was not what he was aiming at in the meantime; the insulting behaviour of the sneering Darnley had made him thirst for vengeance. He had more than once had to complain of his insolence. Proud of the Queen's trust he played a bold game. As Darnley and the Queen might any day be reconciled, for her forgiveness was boundless, the Earl had reason to fear that his power, built only upon their quarrel, might crumble to the ground. To strengthen his position he joined Riccio's murderers, and made Lethington propose a divorce to Mary.

The cautious minister well weighed his words, and did his best to get the Queen's consent. He very strongly urged her to take that step for her own and the kingdom's good, showing how Darnley troubled Her Grace and every one else, and how, if things remained as they were, that ungrateful and violent prince would never be satisfied till he had done some devilry, for which many might have to grieve. Bothwell supported that measure. Although divorce was not a rare thing among kings, it hurt the delicate feelings of the Queen of Scots.¹ She looked upon it as the last resource, the only remedy for the evils of the situation, and, if driven to it, she would have everything done legally and without prejudice to her son. That was her first idea on the subject; then reflecting upon the words she had just spoken, too rashly perhaps she thought, she said to Lethington that Darnley might change, and asked him if it would not be better for her to retire to France until that change came.² She probably would have done so,

¹ "Her delicacy shrank from a divorce," says also the author of the *Mem. of Kirkaldy*, 154. See *Teulet, Suppt. au Prince Labanoff*, 112. The numerous cases of divorce quoted by *du Croc*.

² She had long and seriously thought of it. We find in a letter from Lethington to Randolph, that she named as her successors, Moray, Mar, Huntly, Atholl, and Bothwell, quoted in *Mr Hosack's conscientious Work*, 147.

had she not feared, by leaving the throne empty for a time, to risk the interests of the young Prince. On his account she chose to bear the cares of royalty, and stake even her life, rather than yield one of her rights.

Seeing that he could not overcome her dislike to a divorce, Lethington added: "Madam, fancie ye not we ar heir of the principall of your Graces Nobilitie and Counsale, that sall fynde the moyen, that your Majestie sall be quyte of him without Prejudice of your Sone, and albeit that My Lord of Murraye heir present be lytill les scrupulus for ane Protestant, nor your Grace is for ane Papist, I am assurit he will looke throw his Fingeris thairto, and will behald our Doeings, saying nathing to the same." That sentence contains for us a dreadful meaning. No doubt Mary did not believe that the wickedness of her counsellors could go the length of murdering Darnley;¹ consistent in her doings, she could not suffer anything unreasonable to be done, nor, through hatred, any too rigorous measures to be taken. "I will that ye do nathing," said she, "quhairto any spot may be layit to my Honor or Conscience, and thairfor I pray you rather lett the Matter be in the Estait as it is, abyding till God of his Goodness put Remid thairto; that ye believing to do me Service may possibill turne to my Hurt and Displeasor." "Madam," answered Lethington, "let us guyde the Matter amongis us, and your Grace sall si nathing bot gud and approvit by Parliament."²

The Queen's refusal hurried on the decision of the Lords; they determined on the crime, and hastily carried it out. The project was not new; for a year past those same men had made up their minds to ruin Darnley, and the divorce question had been but one phase of the conspiracy. Shrouded in darkness, the plot slowly and surely took shape and form, while they waited for the moment to strike. Dreading a failure, or the disclosure of their secret so long kept, they set to work. The murderers of Cardinal Beaton and Riccio, sided with each other. James Balfour, who had earned a reputation in like work twenty years before, by murdering the Archbishop of St Andrews, returned to Scotland with increased audacity, and offered his services. He drew

¹ Neither did Moray, if we can believe his word about it, think that matters would go so far. Bishop Keith, App. 138, 139. That confession, whether sincere or not, is very favourable to the Queen.

² Protestation of Huntly and Argyll, Anderson's Collection, IV., 2d part, 188, sq.—

Spottiswoode, II., 41. Goodall, II., 359.—Blackwood, 557, and Apuntamientos, 315, a letter of Guzman de Silva to Philip. II.—Miss Bengier remarks that Moray never denied that proposal of divorce, although it is very damaging for his partisans. Miss Bengier, Life of Mary, II., 301, note.

out the bond against Darnley. That famous bond, signed by Huntly, Argyll and Lethington,¹ contained these horrible words: "forsamikle it was thought expedient, and maist profitable, for the commonwealth, be the haill nobilitie and lords, underscryvand, that sic ane young fool, and proud tirane, sould not reigne, nor beare rule over them for divers causes and thierfoir, the haill had concludit that he sould be cut off, be ane way, or uther, and whasoever sould take the deid in hand, or do it, they sould defend, and fortifie as themselves."² To overthrow the Queen by casting upon her, if need be, the disgrace of the murder, they entrusted the commission of the deed to Bothwell, whose duties as Lieutenant-General brought him especially about the court. For the part he played he was to have the royal widow in marriage. They thought the exceptional position of the murderer would naturally lead the people to suspect an understanding between him and his Sovereign, and they hoped the marriage following hard upon, would remove all doubt as to that, make both of them odious to the Scots, and further Moray's cause.³

On the 10th of December, Mary was in Stirling, at the baptism of her son. To hide from the foreign ambassadors the quarrel betwixt husband and wife, she endeavoured to calm Darnley, and after some difficulty, succeeded in bringing him beside her. It would have been better for that madman had he not appeared at the ceremony, for his absence would have caused less talk than his behaviour did.⁴ For

¹ Later, Lethington wrote to Morton that he (Morton) was wrong to treat him as a felon, "For a cryme whairof he knowis in his conscience (he) was als innocent as hims." Morton replied: "that I knew him innocent in my conscience as myself, the contrary thairof is trew: ffor I was and am innocent thairof, but could not affirm the same of him, considdering what I understude in that mater, of his owin confession to my self of befoir." Bannat. Memorials, 340, 343. Morton and Lethington having been the accusers of Mary Stuart, that passage proves her innocence. The first died on the scaffold, convicted of having taken part in the murder; the second, although publicly declared innocent on the 14th February 1570, by the Lords of the Privy Council, is found, from the secret missives of his accomplices, to be guilty. What conclusion is to be drawn? Clearly that the criminals have charged the Queen only to exculpate themselves. The extract is worthy of note.

² Arnott's Criminal Trials, App. 386.

³ Eytzinger MS., British Museum.—A copy

in Author's possession, 40. Herries' Memoirs, 82.

⁴ M'Crie in his life of J. Knox, 297, has scandalously travestied the facts when he says: "the King was not allowed to be present at the baptism of his own son, and was treated with such marked disrespect, even by the servants, that he abandoned the Court, and shut himself up in his father's house." Edit. Edinburgh MDCCCXLI. A serious writer ought not to allow himself to write such a sentence without supporting it with a quotation. In the following page, the same author piles up the accusations which weigh upon Mary Stuart, without discussing them, and adds that there is where-with "to shut the mouths of any but the defenders of Mary Q. of Scots." Such a reflection is at least rash. In reference to the baptism, the ambassador, du Croc, wrote on the 2nd of December. "In any event I'm much assured, as I always have been, that he (Darnley) won't be present at the Baptisme." Prince Labanoff, I., 376; Bishop Keith, preface, vii.

a long time he said he would not go. He refused for the following reasons. His self-pride was wounded, because more respect was paid to the Queen than to him, and because he knew that Elizabeth's ambassador would not treat him with the deference befitting the husband of a Queen.¹

The young Prince was christened on the 17th of December. The ceremony had long occupied Mary's thoughts, and she had herself arranged all the details. She wished every one to share with her the happiness of that day, so dear to a mother's heart. She chose the colours which the principal nobles should wear. Though her means were small, she paid out of her own purse for a complete green suit for Moray, a red one for Argyll, and another, blue, for Bothwell; in looking after the many little details, she enjoyed, in anticipation, the pleasure she looked forward to. The child was baptised according to the forms of the Catholic Church, and with all imaginable pomp. Through conscientious scruples, Bothwell and several other Protestants were absent from the ceremony; they came, however, to the supper.² Darnley, shut up in his own room, obstinately refused to take part in the rejoicings. He could not endure to breathe the same air with the guests, and du Croc, who knew well his strange bursts of temper, would not receive him. "He sent three several times," writes that ambassador, "desiring me either to come and see him, or to appoint him an hour, that he might come to me in my lodgings; so that I found myself obliged, at last, to signify to him, that seeing he was in no good correspondence with the Queen, I had it in charge from the most Christian King to have no conference with him. And I caused tell him likewise, that as it would not be very proper for him to come to my lodgings, because there was such a crowd of company there, so he might know that there were two passages to it, and if he should enter by the one, I would be constrained to go out by the other. His bad deportment is incurable, nor can there be ever any good expect from him."³ Mary rose above her grief, and was equal to all emergencies. While the rejoicings lasted, she appeared not only amiable, but joyful. They had dancing and games, fireworks and other entertainments, in which the Queen took part, as well as the guests. She was everywhere, and with smiling exterior, kept smothered deep in her heart her many troubles. She wished all present to be happy. Unfortunately, she unwittingly displeased

¹ Du Croc's letter, Teulet, II., 292. Innocence de la Royne d'Escosse, Jebb, I., 520.

² Diurnal of Occur., 103 sq.

³ Du Croc to Archbishop of Glasgow; Bishop Keith, vii.

the English. As part of the entertainment there was a troop of Satyrs capering grotesquely. The English fancied they were mocked, and the foreigners, jealous of the honours paid to Elizabeth's envoys, gave play to their feelings in a loud burst of laughter.' The English got angry, and it took all Mary's kindness, and Bedford's powerful influence, to prevent bloodshed. It was perhaps to wipe out the remembrance of that brawl, and show herself mindful of the thoughtfulness of Elizabeth, who had sent for the baptismal rite, a font of great value, that the Queen gave Bedford a collar of diamonds, Carey one of pearls and a ring, Hatton a gold chain, and various presents to the other English.²

When the festivities were over, she sent for du Croc. The French ambassador found her deeply grieved and in tears. Her state of mind strongly impressed the venerable ambassador. In a letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, he shows how much he was touched: "The Queen," says he, "behaved herself admirably well all the time of the baptism; and showed so much earnestness to entertain all the goodly company in the best manner, that this made her forget in a good measure her former ailments. But I am of the mind, however, that she will give us some trouble as yet; nor can I be brought to think otherwise, so long as she continues to be so pensive and melancholy. She sent for me yesterday, and I found her laid on the bed, weeping sore; and she complained of an aching pain in her side. I am much grieved for the many troubles and vexations she meets with."³

Her great sorrow patiently borne, touched even Darnley's heart. During the interview with his wife, he shed tears when he thought of his conduct to her,⁴ and promised to treat her with respect for the future; moreover, to prove that his return was sincere, he did as the Queen had done, and sent some of his silver plate, and had it melted down to replenish the treasury.⁵ Perhaps the two, schooled by affliction, might have become lastingly reconciled, had not an unfortunate affair, brought about by neither, stirred up strife betwixt them.

¹ Pour bien saisir, says M. Francisque Michel, en quoi les Anglais présents à la mascarade imaginée par Bastien pouvaient s'en offenser, il faut savoir que leur nation depuis le meurtre de Thomas Becquet avait été marquée du sceau de la bête par l'opinion populaire qui s'obstinait à présenter nos voisins comme pourvue d'une queue. *FRAN-*

cisque Michel, Les Ecosais en France et les Français en Ecosse, II., 54, note.

² Melville's *Memoirs*, 172.

³ Du Croc to Archbishop of Glasgow, previously quoted.

⁴ Belleforest. *Innocence de la Roynie d'Escoce*, Jebb, II., 521.

⁵ *Id. ibid.*, 531.

Moray, back to Scotland, and in power, was not forgetful of Morton and his accomplices, who were still exiles in foreign lands, through the murder of the Secretary Riccio. Until then, no one had dared to ask their pardon, on account of the heinousness of the crime, and Mary's grief thereat. Moray thought that if he did not avail himself of the occasion of the baptism, his friends might not be pardoned for many a day. He spoke earnestly to the Queen on the subject, when her motherly heart was full of kindness. At first Mary would not hear of it. The conspirators did not lose courage; they made the request a second time, publicly, when they were assured that the ambassadors of England and France aided them. On the 24th of December, Moray, Atholl, Lethington, Bothwell, Bedford and du Croc presented themselves before the Queen, and so beset her with their prayers and entreaties that she, doubting her own experience and Darnley's, and fearing also the displeasure of the English and French envoys, at last granted the pardon. That act of clemency was one of the gravest faults with which Mary may be reproached: Darnley, with good reason to be irritated, left Stirling without taking leave of his wife, and withdrew to Glasgow.¹

The whole affair grieved the Queen, yet neither she nor her husband was responsible; the impudent intriguing of the conspirators had brought it about. Darnley's departure gave rise to new slanders, the more odious, as they came from those so generously pardoned. The King having been taken ill early in January, a report that he had been poisoned, was noised abroad; some accused the Queen; but it was soon known that he was ill of small-pox. Nevertheless, the then historians who were hostile to Mary Stuart, wrote as if they believed in the poisoning.² Had Mary been guilty of the fearful crime imputed to her by those partial writers, she had but to allow the disease to run its course, and, in that way, have got rid of her husband. Her conduct was quite different; throwing aside all consideration of self, and despite the pain in her side, which threatened to become serious, she sent her physician to Darnley; she would, immediately, have gone thither herself, had not Glasgow been a hot-bed of pestilence, and had she not feared infection for herself and the young Prince.³

While Darnley was only convalescent, a report was rife over the

¹ H. Glassford Bell, II., 17. M. Wiesener, 147.—"soon after went without good-night toward Glasgow, to his father." Knox, Reform, v., 349.

² Birrel's Diarey, 6. Bedford to Cecil, Chalmers, I., 308; II., 284, 547 sq.

³ Bedford to Cecil, Mr Hosack, 174. Tytler, III., 233.

land that he was preparing to dethrone the Queen. One William Walcar of Glasgow told Queen Mary of it, and Moray, as usual, made it a pretext for urging her to act against the King. But instead of being enraged at such conduct, she merely refused to listen to the treacherous advice of her brother and retained Darnley in her affection.¹ It would have been better for Mary, instead of shutting her eyes to the mad projects of her husband, to have reproved him severely for his love of change, for in addition to the throne of Scotland, he aspired to that of England also, and gave himself wholly up to an ambition both foolish and dangerous. While delighted with new ideas which he regarded as so many traits of genius, he thought he might, by a skilful stroke of policy, join the intrigues of some English traitors, seize Scarborough Castle and the Scilly Islands, thence watch England, and excite revolt. The affair failed. Elizabeth was told of Darnley's intentions, and she vowed against Mary and her imprudent husband an eternal hatred.²

The hour was drawing nigh when all those griefs, cares, and anxieties were about to make way for the deepest emotions and the saddest afflictions which ever befell a human being. The misfortunes destined to overwhelm the Queen of Scots were such as strike and leave their marks for ever. It was Mary's lot to have to endure what most tends to weaken the powers of the soul,—calumny and neglect. God, in his wrath, had reserved for the sixteenth century a host of false natures and venal minds, who, partly from hatred, and partly from the accursed love of gold, revelled in falsehood. Mary was about to see that crowd of liars rise against her with the cool audacity of a settled purpose. Her enemies shall vie with one another in defaming her, friends shall forsake her, and alone, amid greedy conspirators and paid slanderers, she shall feel her fortune and her honour sink by their doings, and shall see herself brought to weep over the bleeding corpse of her husband, and blamed for his murder: her grief shall be the scandal of the great, and the laughing-stock of the vulgar.

¹ Those manœuvres on the part of Moray and his followers have not escaped the notice of historians. Camden, (104), remarks that evil-minded persons were stealthily trying to destroy the love still existing betwixt husband and wife, and prevent their reconciliation. Bedford (quoted in the *Annales* of Sir J. Balfour, 1., 336), expressed the same idea after the baptism of James VI. The reader will admit with me that Mary's conduct in sending

her own physician to Darnley, and afterwards resisting the suggestions of her brother, is opposed to the opinion of certain historians, who assert that she had formed a plan to get rid of her husband. Her acts are at variance with the charge.

² The Examination of William Rogers, relating to Scottish affairs, 16th January 1567. State Paper Office.

It is related, that, when on the point of giving up his wicked soul to God, Buchanan, the most famous man among the slanderers, ordered his writings to be burnt.¹ It would have been better for his honour, and that of the Queen of Scots, had neither he nor any other of his stamp been a shameless slanderer. Better far, had Elizabeth sealed their lips for ever. Very sad it is that it was not so; the Queen of England, despite those airs of virgin candour which she put on before the world, loved to listen to filthy stories,² and delighted in hearkening to trumped up tales of shameful wickedness. Under her fostering care, there was given to posterity a string of monstrous lies about an innocent Queen. Of what heinous crime was Mary guilty? Why was she so treated? Her conduct was just, moderate and peaceful. She was a Queen unfaltering and even bold when occasion required; but ruin came at last, for she had listened to her false-hearted brother, whom she thought faithful, even while he was hankering after her throne.

Her husband, unworthy as he was, ever filled her thoughts. Grieved at his illness, she forgot his shortcomings, and prayed that he might be restored to health.³ On the 24th of January, she set out for Glasgow, and arrived there the day after, having spent the night with Lord and Lady Livingstone, who, though Protestants, were her friends. That visit pleased Darnley. The poor young man might, through weakness of mind, vex the Queen, but when passion was no longer uppermost, he gladly owned his faults. Mary tended her husband all the time she could spare from State affairs.⁴ She nursed and encouraged him, and husband and wife agreed to live thenceforth on good terms. By degrees Darnley's suspicions were dispelled, and he asked the Queen that they might again live under the same roof. As he had just recovered from a contagious disease, Mary said to him that he must first be quite well before they could dwell together. The Queen had got Craigmillar Castle ready for their home, as the air there was pure, and she was within easy distance of her son, whom she could often see. Those delicate attentions touched Darnley. Till then difficult to please, stubborn and capricious, he now blushed at the thought of his past

¹ Camdeni Historia, 105. His royal pupil James VI., had them burned in 1584. Teulet, III., 292.

² Correspondence Diplomatique de Lamoignon-Fénelon, VII., 271.

³ "The Queen was no sooner informed of his danger than she hastened after him, and notwithstanding her resentment of the past in-

jury (at the baptism of James VI.), was extremely moved to find him in so bad a condition, and waited very carefully upon him for the space of ten days." Craufurd's Memoirs, 10.

⁴ Conœus, Jebb, II., 28. "During all which time the Queen attended him like a nurse." Mackenzie, the Scots Writers, III., 282.

conduct. "I will follow you," said he, "whithersoever you wish, on condition that we use the same table, and live henceforth as husband and wife." "Yes," replied the Queen; "and my coming hither had no other aim; if that had not been my intention, I should not have come from so far to fetch you; it shall be according to your desire."¹ Saying those words, she gave him her hand, and promised eternal love. Darnley made a like promise to her.

On Monday, the 27th of January, Mary and her husband left Glasgow, not for Craigmillar, but for Edinburgh. Darnley refused to go to Craigmillar Castle because its governor was Simon of Preston, brother-in-law of Lethington, and one of the murderers of Riccio. The journey was performed by easy stages, lest haste should retard the King's convalescence. Husband and wife were most friendly. They slept the first night at Callander House, near Falkirk, and spent the next two nights at Linlithgow. They were happy, and determined by their re-union to do away with the scandal to which their separation had given rise. The blow about to strike them so tragically was coming; danger was nigh and hung over their heads, while they, thoughtless of care in the joy of travelling together, lavished on each other the fondest caresses. The conspirators had met at Whittingham, and, seated in a lonely spot under the shade of an old yew tree, as the story has it, had unanimously resolved to get rid of Darnley. Morton alone, if we can believe his word, stubbornly refused, albeit his well known hatred for the King, to carry out the project until he had the Queen's consent in writing.² Bothwell had promised to get that paper for him, but he could not keep his word, for he did not even dare to speak of it to the Queen, and so the murder was put off.

Meanwhile, Darnley needed a time of quiet at a place where the bracing air might restore his health. He had been unwilling to put up at Craigmillar, and could not stay at Holyrood for fear of giving to the

¹ "She aunswered, yet she would take him to Cragmillar, where she might be with him, and not farre from her sonne. He aunswered yet uppon condicion he would goe with her, which was yet he and she might be togeather at bedde and borde as husband and wife, and yet she should leave him no more. And if she would promise him yet uppon her worde he woulde goe with her, where she pleased, without respect of anye danger eather of sickness wherein he was, or otherwise. But if she would not condescend thereto, he woulde

not goe with her in anywise. She aunswered yet her comminge was onelye to yet effect, and if she had not bin minded thereto, she had not com so farre to fetch him, and so she graunted hys desire, and promised him yet it should be as he as spoken, and thereuppon gave him her hand and faithe of her bodye yet she would love him and use him as her husband." Thomas Crauford's Deposition, State Paper Office.

² See his Confession, Bannatyne Memorials.

young Prince the contagious disease from which he was recovering.¹ Moray proposed Kirk-of-Field; it was a suitable residence, a delightful abode, situated at the very gates of the town, and surrounded by numerous gardens. He pompously set forth the attractions of the place and did not fail, in order to dazzle the Queen, to recal to her memory Lord Borthwick, whose ruined health had been quickly restored by the pure air of the place.² All that was a mere pretence. The Queen, anxious to have her husband in a house befitting his state of body, gladly entertained the proposal of her crafty brother. What first made the conspirators think of that dwelling, was, that it belonged to Robert Balfour, brother of him who had drawn out the bond against Darnley. Mary was misled by that show of interest, and secretly rejoiced on seeing the nobles, formerly so badly disposed towards her husband, now drawn closely to him. She had the house ornamented in a truly royal style, and spared nothing which might add to its splendour and comfort. She often visited the sufferer, and after a time went to reside at Kirk-of-Field.³

The conspiracy had been freely spoken of to very many different persons, and it soon became public. Lord Robert, a natural brother of Mary, and Commendator of the Orkneys, told Darnley that his life was threatened, while the Queen summoned him, and asked what was the matter. To the amazement of the King, Lord Robert said that he had

¹ "Le Roy tumba malade de la petite roniole et se coucha en ung logis nommé Kirkefeld (de paour de nuyre à la santé de la Roïne et de l'enfant); jusques à tant qu'il fust guarì, et ce par le commun consentement de la Roïne et de Messieurs de son conseil qui vouloyent conserver la santé de l'un et de l'autre." Les affaires du Comte de Boduel. Edit. Bannat. Club, 12. Dargaud writes in his *Histoire de Marie Stuart*: "Darnley se déroba à son père et aux amis de sa famille pour venir à Edinburgh sur les pas de la reine. Elle ne l'installa point à Holyrood. De concert avec Bothwell qui s'était empressé à leur rencontre, et sous prétexte de placer le malade dans un air plus pur, elle l'établit à Kirk of Field." If the most illustrious scholar who has explored "les collections, les musées, les vieux portraits, les gravures rares, les traditions, les ballades, les lacs, les mers et les rivages, les montagnes et les plaines," had opened Prince Labanoff's Collection, VII., 305, he would have spoken differently. He would have admired in that

arrangement Mary's attentions as mother and wife. He does not at all speak of the danger which the young Prince would have incurred, and does not see the advantage to the King himself from living in the country. He says, "Là tout était lugubre et l'on n'entendait que le hurlement des chiens et le croassement des corbeaux." One might imagine from the descriptions given of Kirk-of-Field, by the writers hostile to Mary, that it was a lonely spot, well suited for a cut-throat place. Well, Darnley's dwelling was not ten minutes' walk from the Canongate, the principal street of Edinburgh, going from Holyrood to the Castle, and scarcely four minutes from the Cowgate, which may be considered as having formerly been the second street in the city. The Duke of Chatelleraut had a residence next that of Darnley.

² Blackwood, *Complete Works*, 562, 563.

³ See at the end of the 2nd volume. *Dissertation*, II., part iii., 2.

not told him anything of the kind. Thereat the two youths, greatly enraged, drew their swords, and there would probably have been some mishap, had not Mary hurriedly called in Moray. That brawl hastened the King's murder. On the eve of the day fixed for the deed, Moray, instead of being, as was his duty, beside the Queen, in case Lord Robert's story should prove true, left the country, under pretence that his wife was ailing, but really from another motive. While on his way, he allowed these thoughtless words to fall from his lips; "the King," said he, "will be cured this night of all his ills,"—words with which Lord Herries afterwards taunted him in public, and which Mary's defenders brought up again at the York Conferences.¹ Bothwell, meantime, got together as many as possible of the plotters against the King's life; of those, he made some believe that their freedom was in danger, others that most of the nobles, the Queen approving, had resolved to kill the King, at the same time, showing clearly to his servants and vassals that he should be obliged to leave the country, if the King lived longer.

While those infamous manœuvres kept the nobles busy, Mary and her husband were living fondly together. The illness which had brought him almost face to face with death, and more than all, the Queen's devotedness, had been very powerful lessons to Darnley. One day Mary came to his side as he was closing a letter to his family. Darnley handed it to her. She saw in it very sincere and beautiful words in praise of her tenderness and attentions to him; she read too of his regrets for the past, and the vow registered as to the future. Though that letter was not meant for the Queen, yet it touched her heart; she again and again kissed Darnley, and for a long time held him folded in her arms.² Health was returning, and they were congratulating each other on the happy life before them. They never dreamed that their love was to have an end so sudden and so cruel.

On the 9th of February, Darnley went to mass, for even during his greatest errors he had never neglected his duties as a Catholic. The Queen left him during the day to be at the wedding of two of her servants. Those good people were worthy of the honour; for at a later

¹ John Lesley assures us that Moray said: "This night ere morning the Lord Darnley shall lose his life." Defence of Q. Mary's honor, 75. Although the same terms are repeated by the contemporary, Belleforest, Jebb, II., 470, I have preferred the version given by Caussin, which, although in milder

terms, means exactly the same thing. It has seemed to me that Moray was too prudent to express himself with so brutal a frankness. Blackwood, 563, Mackenzie, the Scots Writers, III., 282.

² Buchanan, *Rerum Scot. Histor.*, xviii., 9.

time, they, amid the general desertion, still faithful to their royal mistress, were fated to draw upon themselves the hatred of the English government.¹ Mary paid two visits to Darnley on that day, the evening one being very remarkable. The Queen was attended by the whole of her Court, except Bothwell and Moray. She bade the King farewell, only when the night was far advanced, embraced him, put a ring upon his finger and cheerfully regained Holyrood by the aid of torches. She wished to be present at the bride's bedding, break the marriage cake, offer the cup of milk mingled with wine, and take off one of the bride's stockings : simple customs which the Reformation afterwards did away with.

Bothwell, having often, but in vain, sought an opportunity to kill Darnley in the open country, chose the 8th of February for the murder,² but the Queen was sleeping at Kirk-of-Field, and that upset his plan. He waited till the evening of the 9th, got false keys, and had gunpowder carried into a cellar underneath the Queen's chamber. During the whole evening he went about looking to what was going on, and keeping up the courage of his men. Between two and three in the morning a violent explosion shook Kirk-of-Field and the neighbourhood, spreading terror in the Castle. What had happened was this.

Towards midnight, Bothwell, who had passed the rest of the evening at a ball, retired ; after changing his rich costume for a dress of common stuff, dark in colour, he took with him, Dalgleish, Paris, Wilson and Powrie, and went down into the palace gardens. He soon reached the south gate. The sentry, astonished at the untimely visit, challenged them. The conspirators said they were friends of Bothwell, and were allowed to pass. The Nether-bow gate, in the Canongate, was also closed. Wilson roused John Galloway, the keeper, who, on opening, was surprised to see Bothwell and his followers at that hour.³ Some time after, Bothwell was at Kirk-of-Field with Hepburn and Hay of Tallo; he gave them his instructions and disappeared. He told them to blow up the house, and bury in one common ruin, the King and his servants, that no tongue might say how it befel. It so happened that the sleep of the King was broken by too much noise, whereupon he fled with Taylor. The murderers startled and unable to find and fire the mine, pursued Darnley in such hot haste that one of them, Archibald Douglas, lost his boot, which was afterwards found on clearing away

¹ M. Wiesener, 250.

³ W. Powrie's deposition, Malcolm Laing,

² Hay of Tallo's deposition, Anderson, II., II., 270, and Anderson, II., 165.
179.

the rubbish.¹ They overtook the King beside a tree, and strangled him and his faithful servant, Taylor. The struggle was violent; "the King was long of dying."² He was heard to exclaim: "Oh! my friends, have pity on me for the love of Him who has pity on us all!"³ The ruffians then returned to the house to prevent the flight of the servants. At that moment fire reached the powder, and sprung the mine, with deafening roar, while the walls of the house were scattered far and near.

The news rapidly spread through the town. Bothwell, after settling everything, had gone to bed to escape suspicion. He had lain for scarcely half an hour when an officer of the Court, George Hacket, suddenly entered his room. "What is the matter?" asked Bothwell. "The King's house has been blown up," replied the officer, "and no doubt the King is killed." At those words, Bothwell, feigning surprise, leaped from his bed, crying: "Fie! Treason!" Thereon Huntly and several conspirators came in; thence they all went to the Queen.

Early on the same morning Mary was told of the murder. She was horror-struck, and her grief showed itself by a dull stupor more akin to death than life. On hearing of Riccio's murder she had been irritated, now she was plunged into a sort of stupifying bewilderment, like that of a man who suddenly feels the ground sink beneath him. When, at length, she could weep, and when consciousness had returned, her tears flowed freely. Little did the hapless Queen dream that she should be held guilty of the murder, and that the conspiracy which had struck Riccio and Darnley should be kept up against her for life, throwing blame and discredit on her memory.⁴

¹ John Binning's deposition, Arnott's Criminal Trials. Miss Benger, II., 317.

² "The King was long of dying, and to his strength made debate for his life." Drury to Cecil, 15th April. Tytler, III., 415.

³ "Alcune donne che alloggiavano vicino al giardino, affermano d'haver udito gridar il Re: 'eh, fratelli miei, habbate pietà di me per

amor di Colui che hebbe misericordia di tutto el mondo.'" Prince Labanoff, VII., 109. The Pope's nuncio to Cosmo I.

⁴ The depositions of William Powrie, 1st Depos., Anderson, II., 165, sq. Conœus, Jebb, II., 29. Mackenzie, III., 286. Spottiswoode, II., 47. Tytler. H. Glassford Bell. Miss Strickland.

CHAPTER IX.

1567.

EFFORTS OF MARY TO DISCOVER THE MURDERERS—THE TOLBOOTH COUNCIL—DARNLEY'S FUNERAL—PLACARDS—THE EARL OF LENNOX AND MARY STUART—DUNKELD CONVENTICLE—MEASURES TAKEN BY MARY WITH REGARD TO HER SON—THE NIGHT OF GOOD FRIDAY—MORAY QUITS SCOTLAND—BOTHWELL'S TRIAL—ELIZABETH'S LETTER—LENNOX WITHDRAWS TO ENGLAND—THE STATE OF AFFAIRS—AINSLIE'S SUPPER—CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE QUEEN—PRETENDED POISONING OF THE PRINCE—DEPARTURE FROM STIRLING—ABDUCTION OF THE QUEEN—HER MARRIAGE WITH BOTHWELL—HER DESPAIR.

MARY was hopelessly broken down ; and her energy, overwhelmed by the depth of her afflictions, could not recover life and vigour. The shock had been too violent and too unforeseen, to enable a nature, even the best gifted, to resume its balance and natural bent ; all gave way at once. Beyond the precincts of her Court, there was neither friend nor minister in whom she could place trust, since those of loyal seeming had perhaps had a hand in that mysterious murder, whilst in her own breast she nursed a profound grief and a terrible anxiety born of her past woes. In the excess of her grief the Queen must have often regretted that she first saw the light on the steps of a throne, and she would probably have abdicated, had she not held herself bound to make sure of the right of accession for the Prince her son. She continued to reign only for him, though the remainder of her life was to be spent wholly in grief. The struggle against her adversaries is no longer to be so bold, and the lasting conspiracy, beginning with Beaton, and afterwards striking down Riccio and Darnley, is going to unroll itself alongside the efforts which she is to make to free herself from it. Every attempt made by her to keep down her mutinous nobles, you shall see followed by some great disaster, until the groundless hatreds of her foes end with her life. The daughter of Henry VIII., would undoubtedly have been better fitted to wield the Scottish sceptre, and the nobility, kept in awe by her, would have been less bold. Such was not Mary's disposition ; her nature was gentleness itself ; she never could resist entreaties, and she forgave too easily. Darnley's murder made her conscious of her real position. She had never felt so lonely. Around her arose threatening enemies ;

and her treacherous brother had fled, that he might not be accused. She was without support, and bereft of hope. Though bowed down by affliction she was not forgetful of the duties of her position; for, on the following morning, the Council, which had been summoned by her, sat at the Tolbooth. She wrote to the Earl of Lennox, and had Catherine de Médicis and the Archbishop of Glasgow, Scottish ambassador in France, informed of the horrible murder.

Then began the shameful debates, so much spoken of. Mary, shut up in a dark room, as mourners were wont to do, wept for her husband; all was cheerless around her; her bed and room were hung with black.¹ She could not, with propriety go out, and Bothwell, feigning innocence, was the only one who went to speak to her. Her Council, held at that critical moment, was perhaps the most wretched assembly imaginable. The greater part, if not all, of the members, had had a hand, more or less, in the crime, and those same persons were themselves to search for its authors. Thence a series of mad acts and ridiculous measures which had no other object than bewildering public opinion, and deceiving the Queen. All seemed full of zeal. Lethington, a master of intrigue, in making known to the Court of France that awful affair, dwelt on the horrible crash of the explosion, on the house reduced to ashes, from the top to the lowest foundations, said that the Queen could have escaped only by a miracle, and thought that God would, by some visitation, proclaim the ruffians to the world. But that vain display of sounding words ended in nothing, and no one, though the Council pretended close researches, was found to be compromised. The reason was clear; the Queen, however, did not see it, and continued to be their dupe.²

By her order, the Council issued a proclamation on the 12th of February, promising two thousand pounds and a pension for life, to him who should denounce the guilty party, and if guilty himself, he was to obtain his pardon.³ The Queen hoped in that way to find out the murderers, but the Council was on the watch. It had too great an

¹ "The Queen tooke this misfortune with great sorrow, and did sequestrat herselfe many dayes from companie." Herries' Memoirs, 85. See Dissertation, II., part ii., No. 2.

² Malcolm Laing, app., and Miss Strickland, III. "Nox havendo la Regina alcun pensiero di questo tradimento che si macchinava et contro la persona et contro la reputation sua, diede lor carico espresso di far inquisitione del delitto et perseguitar per tutto i colpevoli. In che non accade mara-

vigliarsi della poca diligentia che vi usarono, et se si guardavano l'un l'altro come persone che non sapessero che dirsi et mostravano di non saperlo, quando si trovavano nel consiglio di Sua Maestà congregato per questo effetto." Prince Labanoff, Mem. Ital. addressed to Cosmo I., VII., 316.

³ Cecil to Norris, 5th March, Cabala, 136. The text of the Proclamation is inserted in Anderson's collection, I., 36, 37.

interest at stake not to foil the enquirers, and the Queen, shut up in her room, expecting a great deal from her measures, did not know what was going on in Edinburgh, and had nobody to enlighten her.¹

The corpse of the King had meanwhile been carried to a house near the one he occupied at Kirk-of-Field, and the doctors had come to view the body; thence it was taken to Holyrood. The Queen wished to see her husband a last time, and while looking upon the lifeless form she was silent, as when she learned of his death. Her eyes were rivetted on the cold and ghastly figure; she let fall neither word nor tear; but her broken-down and dejected attitude was more eloquent than tears. When grief is too great, the senses become confused, one does not know what to do, and one begins to question the reality of the affliction. Mary was brought to that pitiful plight. By degrees her prostration gave way to a deep, deep sorrow, and she wept bitterly. Darnley's body was carefully embalmed, and laid in state in the oratory of Holyrood. The cierges around the coffin burnt night and day. The funeral took place on the 15th of February, during the night, and without noise, according to the custom introduced by the Protestants after the Reformation in Scotland. People dreaded that if the Queen displayed before them the pomp of Catholic worship, they might again be roused to their usual disorders.² Lord Traquair, Sir John Bellenden and James Stuart of Ochiltree, captain of the Guards, were at the ceremony, along with several members of the Privy Council. The young King was placed in the vault of the Stuarts, beside James V., father of the Queen, who like him, had died a sad death, after the defeat of Solway Moss.³ Alas! as if an unfathomable mystery pursued to the bitter end those unfortunate princes, laid low in early youth, and by treacherous hands, their bones have been dishonoured; the cold damp vault has been rifled of its treasures; their ashes have been cast to the winds by the multitude, and the traveller visiting that chapel, once very beautiful, but now overgrown with ivy, and in ruins, is bowed down with sadness; the bitterness of despair weighs upon his soul; the fallen-in roof, and the broken columns bring confusion

¹ Prince Labanoff, VII., 317.

² "The ceremonies indeed were the fewer, by cause that the greatest Parte of the Counsaile were Protestantes, and had before enterred their own Parentes, without accustomed solemnities of ceremonies." J. Lesley, *Defence of Q. Mary's Honor*, Anderson, 23. "The reformers," says Blackwood, "enterrent leurs

morts comme bestes sans aucune cérémonie." 609. Innocence de Marie Stuart, Jebb, II., 529.

³ "Corpus mariti balsamo sparsum et odore, idem tumulus qui Jacobum ejus nominis quintum Reginæ patrem tenet et tegit." Maria Stuarta. Innoc. auctore Oberto Barnestapolio, Jebb, I., 407.

to his mind, while the desecrated tombs call for his sympathy. "What then," he exclaims, "are those earthly majesties, that one should seek for their ashes beneath the rubbish of their palaces, and in the precincts of the all-devouring tomb, to insult and scatter them to the winds of heaven!"

Next day, the King's household was broken up. Mary wished to keep Darnley's attendants in her service; "you have lost a good master," said she to them with emotion, "but if you will tarry, you shall find me not only a good mistress, but a mother."¹ Those who would not stay were discharged. Mary commended the English servants to the English authorities. Several among them had deserved well of her, especially Anthony Standen, who, at the time of Riccio's murder, had thrust aside the dagger with which Patrick Bellenden was threatening her. The Queen's commendation was of no avail. Standen and his companions were imprisoned, and Elizabeth's fanatics tried to wring from them charges against Mary Stuart.

Strange things were then taking place. Passionate men were seeking to rouse the town; voices urging insurrection were heard during the night, and, when day dawned, the walls were found covered with placards. The names of Mary's most faithful servants were placed alongside those of the assassins, and that confusion helped to protect the guilty, while it made the innocent suspected.² There were no bounds to their audacity; at one time an accomplice, at another the locksmith who had made the keys, or some other artisan connected with the murder, was given out as author of the placard. Mary's initials, and those of Bothwell, crossed by a sword and surmounted by a mallet, were to be seen in several places, with this motto: "Farewell, gentyl Henrye! but a vengeance on Mary."³ The Protestants, by their sermons, fired the minds of the people; they called down vengeance on the murderers. Knox thundered, as in the great days of what he called the persecution; his words roused his hearers, and the masses raged under their burning force. The insurrection, as yet smouldering, was becoming formidable; the quiet of the nights was broken by unusual noises. A man, whose name is still unknown, with five or six other men, went through the streets shouting in a mournful voice, at dead of night: "vengeance on those that caused me to shed innocent blood; O Lord, open the heavens and pour down vengeance

¹ Drury to Cecil, 28th February, Tytler, III., app. xviii.

² Spottiswoode, II., 48. Miss Strickland, III., 178, note 3, 196 and note.

³ M. Wiesener, 390.

on those that have destroyed the innocent."¹ Such was the state of things till April. Of the various placards, one especially caused a commotion; it was designed by James Murray, brother of the Laird of Tullibardine, and represented the Queen under the form of a siren devouring her lovers. The author, forced to flee for a while, returned only after the Queen was put in prison, and he was appointed Collector of the Customs, as a reward for his good deed.²

The Earl of Lennox, who alone might have been able to give Mary information regarding what had taken place, would not come to Edinburgh. Greedy of honours, rather than sorry for the death of his son, he played a double part to further his ambition, renewing his intrigues with the conspirators, and writing to the Queen that he regretted the murderers were not known. On the 11th, Mary had written that she was very busy searching for the guilty, and had begged him to help her with his intelligence and advice. She again wrote to him from Seton, whither she had gone, acting on the advice of her doctors, to be away from the scene of her trials, and to recover her health,³ that as long as she had a breath of life, she should remember the ties of relationship which united her to him, and that, forestalling his wishes, she had already convoked Parliament, so that the affair might be thoroughly sifted. As fickle as his son, Lennox no longer wished the assembling of the House, though he himself had solicited it; he asked for an adjournment, wishing to see if the authors of the placards would come forward, leaving the Queen to go on with, or give up, her case, according as she should, or should not, get particulars.⁴ The Queen thought otherwise; she wished to revenge her husband, and, at any cost, reach the guilty. Acting on that determination, she wrote to her father-in-law a letter which clears her from all blame—a letter, unfortunately too much neglected by those anxious to defame the Queen of Scots. It would, nevertheless, be wrong to conclude that the Earl of Lennox disliked Darnley. The unfortunate father had another son, and he gave up thinking of the dead one, that he might be able to direct all his energies to get the title of heir presumptive conferred on his second son. He was a father more to be pitied, perhaps, than blamed, had his conduct towards the Queen, his daughter-in-law, been less shameful.

¹ Border Correspondence, Miss Strickland, III., 230.

² Goodall, I., 350. Anderson's Collection, I., 38. Several of those caricatures are preserved at the State Paper Office in London.

³ Lesley's Defence of Q. Mary's Honor, 24. and Dissertation, II., at the end of the work. Vol. II.

⁴ Bishop Keith, 371.

Darnley's murderers had gained much by his death, but the Queen still retained power, and the long-lived aristocratic cabal had not yet gained its point. A new conspiracy was formed against herself. Moray, imagining, no doubt, that to be a King's bastard was a sufficient reason to aim at sovereign power, got Morton, Lindsay of Byres and Caithness, together, at Athol's residence in Dunkeld, under the pretext of revenging the King, but with the real object of overthrowing the Queen; Huntly, Bothwell and some others, joined the Queen under a similar pretext, and both parties began to watch one another closely.

On the 8th of March, Mary on her return to Edinburgh, gave an audience to Killigrew, Elizabeth's ambassador. She received him in the room draped in mourning. Killigrew, who had just been dining at Moray's, where he had met Huntly, Argyll, Bothwell and Lethington, was struck with the solitude in which the Queen of Scots lived, and we learn from him that she was still sorrowing deeply.¹ Elizabeth's letter, of which he was the bearer, did not tend to console her; it was filled with bitter reproaches and haughty terms, showing clearly the joy of the Queen of England at the misfortune of her rival. In that letter of condolence, which may be regarded as a monument of feline and derisive compassion, she made cruel revelations, pointed enough to torment her, yet not sufficiently so, to put her on the scent, and help her to find out the guilty; she told her, in confidence, that people spoke ill of her, that she was reproached with winking at the crime, and having no desire to punish the murderers of her husband, as if the murder had been done only with her consent, and for her greatest pleasure.²

A little more quiet had settled down upon Edinburgh, but there was no peace; and under the appearance of returned quiet, it was easy to see that some new plot was being hatched. Uneasiness prevailed, and Mary dreaded a fresh blow. Perhaps she had a faint idea that the conspirators were seeking to dethrone her, in order to reign themselves, during the minority of the Prince.³ She was anxious about her position, and still more so about the future of her son. But what could she do with him? To whom could she entrust him in that general disloyalty? The crime was frightful, the suspicions great, but proof

¹ Killigrew to Cecil, 8th March, Chalmers I., 324, and State Paper Office.

² "Je ne vous céleray point ce que la plus part des gens en parlent; c'est que vous regarderez entre voz doigtz la revenge de cest faite, et que n'avez garde de toucher ceulx

qui vous ont fait tel plaisir, comme si la chose n'eust esté commise sans que les meurtriers en eussent sceu leur assurance." Q. Elizabeth to Q. Mary, 24th February, Prince Labanoff, VII., 103.

³ Prince Labanoff, Ital. Mem. VII., 106.

there was none. Who could tell if those to whom she might confide her son were not the murderers of his father, ready to rob the young Prince of his rights, the moment his mother was laid in the grave. Devoted as Bothwell was, he did not inspire the Queen with more confidence than his fellows; accordingly, she never thought of placing the heir to the throne under his charge. Fortunately, Stirling Castle was commanded by the Earl of Mar. His father-in-law, Lord Erskine, had protected Mary in a similar circumstance; the Earl himself had formerly been her tutor, and his wife was one of her best friends. Mary thought she could not, in the whole kingdom, find a man more faithful, and to his care she gave her son. On the 19th of March, the Earl of Argyll and the Earl of Huntly took the Prince to Stirling. The separation grieved poor Mary anew, but it was necessary, and she submitted to it, though with tearful eye. The Earl of Mar, at the same time, was appointed hereditary Captain of the town, that he might not, on any pretext whatever, be forced to leave the Castle for a moment.¹

Amid her cares, caused by the conspiracies of the nobles, Mary did not forget Darnley. The present was unfortunate, the future was threatening, and Mary, overwhelmed with fatigues and vexations, lived only in the past. She would not, she could not, forget her husband, so cruelly taken away from her tender care. Though it might cost her dear, at the moment when calumny charged her most, she had a mass celebrated on the 23rd, for the repose of Darnley's soul,² and Lennox, embarrassed by his intrigues, did not dare to come and pray for his son.³ The heartlessness of her father-in-law, as may be believed, brought no comfort to Mary; she saw not only that she was forsaken in her affliction, but also that her influence as a Queen was on the wane; her loneliness, made greater by the loss of Darnley, saddened her, and she wished by her pious doings, to recall him to the memory of his forgetful kinsmen.

All that time Mary appeared quite overcome by grief and there was none to wipe away her tears; by all those around her, she was treated

¹ That fact, in downright contradiction of the "Sonnets," shows their fallacy; one cannot after that, conceive that Mary wrote:—

"In his handis, and in his full power,
I put my sone,"

Sonnet II.

How and when was that son in Bothwell's hands? It is for those who maintain the authenticity of the "Sonnets," to tell us.

² "The 23rd of March, ther wes ane solemne saule Mass with a dergie sounge afternoone and done in the chapell royal of Holyroud hous for the said Henrey Steuarte, and hes saule, by the Papists, at her Majestie's command." Birrel's Diarey, 7.

³ M. Wiesener. Marie Stuart et le Comte de Bothwell, 301.

with indifference and almost hatred. Five days after the mass, Mary and two confidential lady attendants, were out of bed, when all the others were asleep. It was Good Friday. She went to Darnley's tomb, and there, amid the darkness, from dusk until three in the morning, she prayed and wept.¹ Entirely given up to her grief, she became daily more and more depressed in spirits. Long hours she sat alone, mournful thoughts her only company. The beauty of her countenance had been impaired by the floods of tears, and she frequently swooned. If at times, beguiling her sorrow, she gave way to thoughts less sad, it was only to suffer the more keenly when memory returned. A dislike to life had taken hold of her, for, owing to her many sorrows, she thought it already long enough. Each day passed, wafting away her troubles, her tears and her prayers, yet every morrow was the same. Her imagination became over-heated. She was easily frightened, and would summon her women, who had great difficulty in quieting her alarms. The State, meantime, reaped no gain; the debts were growing; through repeated borrowing, the poor Queen could no longer find any lenders, and she was breaking down under all those burdens. Gazing on that unbroken chain of misfortunes, jealous destiny seemed to show the world that kings are visited with more bitter afflictions than all other men.*

Bothwell, irritated, because his name was placarded, boldly asked for a trial, lest his accomplices should, through malice or weakness, charge him with the murder. On the 24th he had been refused; on the 28th he again made the same demand in the open Council, in presence of the Queen, Huntly, Argyll, Caithness, the Bishop of Ross, Lethington and John Bellenden, and then it was granted. The opening of the debates was fixed for the 12th of April, and the Earl of Lennox was asked to come, in person, to support the charge. When the Earl received the summons, he lost the little courage of which he was till then master. He dared not refuse; but he wrote to his enemy, Elizabeth, and begged her to have the trial delayed. Moray, true to his principle, withdrew to France, in spite of his sister's tears, as was his wont in affairs of moment.³

On the 11th of April, the day before the trial, Lennox wrote to the Queen, asking a delay, and leave to arrest the guilty.⁴ He had waited

¹ W. Drury to Cecil, 29th March 1567. Border Corresp., State Paper Office, and Miss Strickland, III., 229.

² W. Drury to Cecil, 29th March, as before.

³ "The Earle of Murray (in the mean tyme) followed his project, and pretended business in

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France, as out discontent. He procured a pass from the Queen to goe eitheid through England or any other way he pleased." Herries' Memoirs, 91.

⁴ Anderson's Collection, I., 52. Bishop Keith, 375.

until the last hour, hoping to stop the proceedings for that day. Elizabeth, for the same reason, did likewise ; but Bothwell was shrewd enough to see to it. On the morning of the 12th of April, the Provost of Berwick arrived at Holyrood with Elizabeth's letter ; but, as the Queen was still in bed, he had to go away. He returned later, with no better success. He walked about in the gardens until the hour when the Lords and Gentlemen met for their morning ride, and thinking the moment favourable, he tried a third time to enter ; but was pushed back and insulted. Not knowing what to do, he desired some gentlemen who appeared to him good-natured, to hand the letter themselves to her Majesty. They refused. Shortly after, Lethington took charge of the letter, and handed it to the Queen, but only when it was too late.¹

Bothwell went to his trial more like a conqueror than a criminal, as he rode a horse said to have been the King's, and was attended as usual by a number of gentlemen, his vassals and friends, while the Queen, deceived by others, still believed him innocent. The rest was a mockery. Morton, the murderer, was his advocate ;² murderers were his judges, and murderers the witnesses ; the few honest people who were present, were either pushed aside or forced to keep silence ; such were the famous proceedings.³ Lennox did not appear ; he had come as far as Stirling, but, either from fright, or from illness, as he wrote to the Queen, he had turned back. The two servants whom he had charged to represent him, asked for an adjournment of the case ; the Justice Clerk replied by reading two letters, in which the Earl of Lennox craved immediate justice, and the trial went on. Bothwell was acquitted, and Lennox, believing that he was no longer safe in his own country, bent his steps towards England, (17th April).⁴ Some days after, Bothwell was again proclaimed innocent by Parliament, and the placards were denounced ;⁵ and, as if nothing could be done in moderation, the nobles, certain that no one thenceforth would oppose their insatiable greed, took advantage of the Queen's helplessness, and pounced covetously on the benefices of the crown. The royal estates were torn piecemeal. He who coveted a castle or estate, had that castle or estate given to him. They made an amicable division among themselves, and all the

¹ W. Drury to Cecil, 15th April. Chalmers, III., 70-74.

² "*Mortonio causam ejus sustinente, Judicium sententiis absolvitur.*" Camden I., 113.

³ The jury, whose names Spottiswoode, (II., 50), and Craufurd, (15,) have preserved for us,

were honest men in whom firmness was unfortunately wanting.

⁴ Copy of the trial of Bothwell, State Paper Office, Scot. series. Diurnal of Occur., 108. Bishop Keith, 376. Spottiswoode, II., 41.

⁵ Les affaires du Comte de Boduel. Anderson's Collection, I., 127.

favours granted by the crown in the past, were confirmed anew. The conspirators hoped, by those bounties, to gain over the rest of the nobles, and so end their allegiance to the Queen. It was the aristocratic conspiracy stronger, more united and better understood.¹

During the evening of the 19th of April, Bothwell and his accomplices met in the tavern of one Ainslie. When they were all somewhat affected by what they had drunk, Bothwell announced his intention of marrying the Queen, taking care to add that her Majesty was a consenting party.² All signified their approval, and pledged themselves to support the Earl, each according to his power ;³ but on the following day, Kirkaldy of Grange, with an indignation, which, though considerate was somewhat unbecoming, wrote to the Earl of Bedford that the Queen was smitten to excess with Bothwell, and that a marriage was to be expected.⁴

Though very anxious to win Mary's hand, Bothwell wished, nevertheless, to save appearances ; he flattered the Queen, and pressed her gently to consent. He met with a refusal, which made him cease his importunities. Mary countenanced this valiant man, merely because she wished to be grateful for his devotedness ; it never could have occurred to her that, born her subject, he should aspire to wed her.⁵

On the second day after the supper at Ainslie's, Mary left Edinburgh⁶ for Stirling, to go and see her son. As on her journey to Glasgow, she spent the night at Livingstone's residence, and arrived on the 22nd in Stirling. She expected her child to smile upon her ; but he did not recognize her, and began to cry. The new faces, the dresses of deep mourning, and the burning eagerness of a mother's love, so different from the care of hirelings, frightened the child. Deeply moved, she offered him an apple, which the nurse took and threw away ; and, adds

¹ Bishop Keith, 379. *Acta Parliam.*, II., 547 sq.

² According to the statement addressed by Mary Stuart to the Christian Princes, the nobles proposed it to him with a view to ruin him : "Fingendo una nuova amicizia col conte Bothvel, il quale essi odiavano a morte, gli fecero credere di contentarsi che egli fussi marito della Regina et ne fecero apparir scrittura sottoscritta da loro, dichiarando che questo torneria in grandissimo beneficio del Regno." Prince Labanoff, VII., 317. Bothwell says so also. *Affaires du Comte de Boduel*, 16. It is

probable that Bothwell told the Queen that story to clear himself, as her first impression was different. Prince Labanoff, II., 36 sq.

³ Anderson's Collection, I., 107, 112. Craufurd's *Memoirs*, 15, 16. Bishop Keith, 381. Camden, I., 141.

⁴ Laird of Grange to the Earl of Bedford, 20th April. State Paper Office, Scot. series. Tytler, III., 246.

⁵ Queen Mary's instructions to the Bishop of Dunblane. Prince Labanoff, II., 37.

⁶ *Diurnal of Occur.*, 109. Birrel's *Diarey*, 8. Herries' *Memoirs*, 88.

the English spy, who has forged or repeated the anecdote, a bitch ate the apple, and in a short time both mother and puppies perished.¹

Mary, from her numerous occupations, could not remain long in Stirling. On the 22nd, she wrote to the Pope's nuncio, that as soon as she reached Edinburgh, she would send a trusty man to make known her feelings to him,² and on the morning of the 23rd retraced her steps towards the capital. She took seriously unwell on the way, and had to stop at a cottage. In the evening she arrived at Linlithgow, broken down by the journey and by pain; yet, before being thoroughly rested, she went forward, hoping to get to Edinburgh the same day. Her escort was small, and, besides, few of them were faithful to her. They travelled quickly, for Mary, pained as she was, longed to be at her journey's end. At Foulbriggs, close to Edinburgh, she was attacked by a troop of armed men; her little escort laid down their arms, and Bothwell appeared before her. All resistance was useless; the Earl seized the Queen's horse by the bridle, and took the road to Dunbar. Mary was frightened, but Bothwell, wishing always to appear devoted, had recourse to a ruse; he assured her that a great danger threatened her, and that he was taking her to one of his castles, where she should be safe.³ That was not done without tumult. In an instant the town was roused by the alarm of bells and the roar of cannon.⁴ The inhabitants of Edinburgh arm hastily, and go into the streets, but no one comes forward to lead them; the nobles had been bribed or intimidated. In that state of affairs, Provost Preston of Craigmillar, one of Riccio's assassins, ordered the gates of the town to be closed, had the guns pointed on the townspeople, and threatened to fire upon them; thus quiet was restored by degrees.

Bothwell, on arriving at Dunbar, carefully removed, from the Queen, her faithful servants, and of her escort, kept only Huntly and Lethington, on whose help he could rely. Lord Coldingham's widow, a sister of the ravisher, was the only woman who was allowed to approach Mary. The fortress of Dunbar was turned into a prison. Bothwell had, as garrison, two hundred archers, who mounted guard night and day

¹ Drury to Cecil, 20th May, 1567. Miss Strickland and Mr Froude.

² Mary Stuart to the Bishop of Mondovi. Prince Labanoff, II., 20.

³ Un giorno che la Regina se ne andava quasi sola per vedere il figlio, (Bothwell) la

assaltò in strada con molti de suoi, et, con buone parole et con mostrarle che la maestà sua si' trovava in grandissimo pericolo, la condusse in uno delli suoi castelli. Successo di Scotia. Prince Labanoff, VII., 317.

⁴ Diurnal of Occur., 110.

around the castle.¹ He now gave way to his passion, and wearied his captive with his advances. A rumour had been noised abroad, in Edinburgh, that the Queen was a consenting party, and, the people believing the rumour, no one thought of demanding her release.²

Bothwell rejoiced at his success; his wife, of the same mind as he, wished a divorce, and the nobles approved.³ The Queen's attitude alone filled him with despair. Gaining nothing by prayers or threats, he showed her the bond signed by the Lords, proving that resistance was vain, that she belonged to him whether she would or not, and that the nobles had given their word that no one should come to her help.⁴ That discovery threw Mary into painful suspense; the pledge of the nobles, Bothwell's devotedness, fidelity, energy and influence, the fear of displeasing the nobility by an ill-timed resistance, the prospect of an imprisonment perhaps perpetual, for during the past eight days no one assisted her, and lastly, anxiety for her own son: all those things made the Queen incline to the Earl, but her dignity forbade her; Bothwell was not born for a throne; her queenly dignity won the day, and, with all against her, she firmly refused him her hand. That obstinacy in a woman, until then smiling and gentle, roused a fearful storm in Bothwell's heart. He threatened to dishonour Mary; some say that he attempted it. Resistance for a longer time, noble in the eyes of God, would, in that case, have led straight to ignominy.⁵

¹ Anderson's Collection, IV., i., 102. "Having presumptuously put hands on the Queene's Maiestie, our Soueranes persone, and detained hir as captive, invironed hir with a grit guard of men of weir, and vtheris of his devotione." A manifest printed in Bannatyne's Memor., 28.

² *Diurnal of Occur.*, loc. cit.

³ Husband and wife were of one mind in asking for a divorce; Bothwell on account of relationship, Jane Gordon on the ground of adultery committed by Bothwell with a woman of his household. It is now impossible to raise the slightest doubt as to the understanding of husband and wife, for Jane Gordon had in her possession the dispensation because of relationship, obtained before her marriage, and she had only to put it forward to cancel Bothwell's request. Her silence, the charge of adultery laid against her husband and accepted by him, and her after-conduct clearly prove that divorce had been thoroughly resolved upon. 'The inference is,' says Dr John Stuart, "that

her consent had been gained to the divorce, either at the instance of the Queen or of her own husband." *Histor. MSS. Commission App.* Dr Hill Burton incriminates the Queen; the account of the facts, and the dissertation printed at the end of Vol. II. will show what we ought to think.

⁴ See Proofs III., end of Vol. I.

⁵ *Ac vi et violentia proditorie eius nobilissimam personam apprehendit In eamque manus violentas Iniecit . . . eandem ibj Incarcerando et detinendo captivam ad spatium duodecim dierum vel eocirca, eamque vj et violentia compellendo metu quj etiam in constantissimam mulierem cadere poterit, promittere matrimonium quam celerime poterit cum eo contrahere.* *Acta Parliam.*, III., 8.—Lord Hailes' Remarks on the History of Scotland, 204, quoted in Bell's Life of Queen Mary. Blackwood, Œuvres Complètes, 568. I beg the reader to refer to Part IV. of the Second Dissertation. I have used in that dissertation a number of documents which it would have been

The gates of Dunbar were now thrown open. The Queen, seemingly free, returned to Edinburgh on the 6th of May; in reality, however, she found herself anything but free at Holyrood; the place alone of her prison was changed. Public opinion was led or ruled by Bothwell's ascendancy. The captive Queen could not make her voice heard. Of the Scots, some congratulated the Earl, while others were silent, just as prudence counselled. An honourable Protestant minister, John Craig, had more firmness. When desired to publish the bans of the Queen's marriage, he declined to do so unless by Mary's own order; and after he got it, suspecting that she had been forced to give it, he persisted in his refusal. In presence of the Privy Council and Bothwell, he stuck to his opinion; but, forced to obey, he did so in a worthy manner, without weakness or pride, protesting, that, had it depended on him, the marriage should never have taken place.¹

Mary, from that time at the mercy of Bothwell, made another effort on the 12th of May to go before the Council, and unbosom her feelings. What could she say? The Council was full of her ravisher's partisans. She spoke notwithstanding; but her words were not made known till five months later, after the Lords had read, examined and, perhaps, altered them.² On the 14th, Mary signed her marriage contract,³ and forgave those who had left her at the mercy of the Earl. The Nobles exacted a pardon in due form, because they saw that the Queen, though yielding, did not willingly accept the alliance.⁴

On the 15th of May, at four o'clock in the morning, Mary was wedded to Bothwell; he had been, three days previously, created Duke of Orkney and Lord of Shetland; few persons were present. The Queen spent her wedding-day in tears, and among the people there was no rejoicing; the Court and the town bore a mournful aspect, and it seemed as if a funeral rather than a wedding had taken place.⁵ Mary had bent under the misfortune, but she was not yet broken. She seemed

irksome to quote in the course of the work. It is a complete apology for Queen Mary, and the most serious and most convincing part of this history.

¹ Anderson's Collection, II., 278; Knox, Reform., V. 354; Spottiswoode, II., 52-54.

² Goodall, II., 243.

³ There is in this third and last contract, alone authentic, a clause which clearly proves that Mary had not "*une passion violente, insensée pour le Comte de Bothwell*" (Teulet Supp. au Prince Labanoff, 10); it is there de-

clared that every signature given by the Earl without the Queen's sanction and written consent shall be null and void. (Labanoff, II., 29.) If she had been as mad about him, as has been stated, she would have made him King, as in Darnley's case.

⁴ The text is found in Anderson's Collection, I., 111.

⁵ "At this marriage thair wes nathir plesour nor pastyme usit as use wes wont to be usit quhen princes wes marijt." *Diurnal of Occur.* 112.

to all pitifully sad, and people wondered how her lovely face had in a few days lost all its freshness; illness could not have more completely wrecked its beauty.¹ Her face was of an ashy paleness, and sometimes her poor grief-burdened mind wandered; once she was heard to ask for a knife to end her wretched life, and once she wished to throw herself out of a window.² Instead of cheering her, Bothwell felt not for her grief, but was even rude to her; he had the throne, and cared only to keep it. He kept the Queen shut up in the palace apart from all.³ That harsh treatment, her dreary life, and, above all, the hints of the stains upon her honour thrown out by the Earl, at length plunged the luckless Queen into the deepest deep of a joyless and wretched midnight.

¹ Drury to Cecil, 20th May 1567. Border Corresp., State Paper Office.

² Du Croc to Catherine de Médicis, 18th May. Prince Labanoff, VII., 111; Melville's *Memoirs*, 180.

³ "He was sa beastly and suspitious that he sufferit hir not to pass ouer a day in patience,

or making hir cause to sched abundance of salt teares." Melville's *Memoirs*, 182. M. Mignet pretends that: "Bothwell torturait le cœur de la reine afin de l'occuper et la rendait malheureuse pour l'empêcher d'être inconstante," l., 310. What a curiosity!

CHAPTER X.

1567.

FIRST ACTS OF BOTHWELL—DISLOYALTY OF THE QUEEN'S FRIENDS—FURTHER DOINGS OF THE CONSPIRATORS—ATTACK ON BORTHWICK CASTLE—FLIGHT OF THE QUEEN—PROCLAMATION OF THE CONFEDERATES—THE DAY OF THE 15TH OF JUNE—THE QUEEN SURRENDERS IN SPITE OF BOTHWELL—TREASON OF MORTON—TROUBLES AND SEDITION—MARY AT LOCHLEVEN—CONDUCT OF HER ENEMIES.

MARY owed an explanation of her conduct to the Court of France, and she gave it with simplicity, trying, as much as she could, to clear Bothwell, who was now her husband; but all the facts noticed above are hinted at in her letter. Bothwell, too, wrote to Charles IX. and Queen Elizabeth, his neighbours, wishing to be on good terms with them.¹

Meanwhile, such a breach of propriety, and one so unusual, could not be allowed to pass unnoticed. The public mind was excited: friends and enemies found fault with the union; the Presbyterians were very wroth. To quiet them, Bothwell sought the aid of the Bishop of Orkney, who had married him. The Bishop told them that Bothwell was sorry for the bad life he had led, that he intended to lead a better one, and one more according to the laws of the Reformed Church.² That promise was followed by acts leaving no doubt as to his final conversion, for he gave his co-religionists the liberty to pray to God according to their own fancy, but deprived the Catholics of the same favour.³ By those doings he wished to make the people forget that he was the murderer of their King and the ravisher of his widow. Thinking himself not safe enough by such measures, he took into his council, men whose gain it was to defend him, and closely watched those who, from their position, or from the part which they had played in the past, seemed to him hostile, or merely undecided in their allegiance.

He himself, by banding together the nobility to crush the brigands who infested Liddesdale, was unawares preparing the blow which was

¹ Teulet, *Relations politiques*, &c., II., 292.
Bothwell to Queen Elizabeth, 5th June 1567,
State Paper Office, Scot. Series.

² Miss Strickland quoting a letter from
Drury to Cecil, III., 294.

³ Bishop Keith, 571.

to overthrow him.¹ Moray's friends who had urged Bothwell to murder Darnley, and had sold to him the widow, looking for nothing more by helping him, now that their ends were gained, turned against him and ruined him by the same means which they had taken to raise him. The Queen by her marriage with Bothwell, whom she thought in her heart to be innocent, but whom her subjects believed to be guilty, was likely to be blamed for the murder. Her enemies had only to hint that she was guilty, and set up Moray as Regent for the Prince-minor. Here ended a conspiracy, decreed by fate and long looked for, —a conspiracy, the various phases of which, the murder of the King, the acquittal of Bothwell and his marriage, had been prepared with very clever wickedness. Bothwell had scarcely reached the throne when his former friends began to use against him the machiavelian work entered upon under his leadership, and, having leagued together, sought means of getting rid of him. Even those in whom the Queen and he placed their principal trust, to wit, the two Melvilles and Sir James Balfour, were gained over to the opposite party.²

The 15th of June had been fixed upon for the meeting of the vassals. The conspirators anticipated that date, and repaired to Liberton with the view of seizing Bothwell and the Queen before they could be supported by their troops. The attempt failed through the indiscretion of some, and Bothwell, warned of what was going on, left Holyrood on the night of the 8th of June, and fled with the Queen to Borthwick Castle. Strong by its position and its walls, that castle was an impregnable rampart behind which it was impossible to reach the Queen. Having no fear for her, Bothwell went to Melrose to join the Crown vassals and march with them as far as Liddesdale. He found no one there, and after uselessly waiting two days returned, deeply vexed, to Borthwick. On the evening of the 11th of June, as he was going to bed, several Scots came to the castle and asked shelter for the night. They said they were friends pursued by the lords, while in truth they had been sent by Morton and Lord Hume, who, a short distance off, were at the head of a numerous troop. Bothwell, made sharp-witted by the numerous conspiracies in which he had taken part, was seized with fright, and without leaving orders as to how the new comers were to be treated, escaped by the postern-gate along with the son of the owner of the castle, leaving with the Queen only eight persons. The night was dark, and Bothwell fled blindly towards Dunbar, heedless of what

¹ Teulet, II., 301. *Registrum honoris de Morton*. Edinburgh, 1853, No. 24, 21.

² Melville's *Memoirs*, 180.

might happen to Mary. At some distance from the castle he fell into the hands of his enemies, but managed to escape, whilst young Crookston remained the prisoner of Lord Hume.¹ The danger, however, was not yet very great, for the nation was still in favour of the Queen, and the enemies advanced with great precaution. On the 11th of June the lords of the Privy Council, on learning that several of the nobility were about to besiege the castle, charged John Mowbray of Bernbouggall to ask them what they meant, and to treat with them, if need be.²

Hostilities were already breaking out around the castle. Those who had tried to capture Bothwell, ashamed of their failure, had returned to insult the Queen under the walls of the fortress.³ Those outrages showed Mary that it was time to act, and that her fate was forever linked to that of her husband. She was innocent, unfortunately he was guilty; but the insolent conduct of the conspirators aimed at her as well as at Bothwell, forced her to believe him innocent, and, in defending him, she was gravely compromising herself. Seeing the rebels going away, she sent the Laird of Reres to Edinburgh with an order to fire from the castle on the troop of Lords Hume and Morton if they attempted to enter the town; the captain, Sir James Balfour, took no notice of it, being himself one of the confederates.⁴

A handful of men devoted to Mary took active steps for peace. Unable to secure it they begged the French ambassador, du Croc, to help them. Du Croc was too wise to refuse; he therefore set to work, and the Queen, whose kindness seemed boundless, enjoined only one condition: that the rebels should cease to incriminate him whom they had formerly acquitted, him whom they had recommended to her for a husband.⁵

Mary, however, did not feel safe: the weakness of the garrison, the boldness of the rebels, the inability to make an appeal to her faithful subjects, the danger of a longer stay in a castle which, on account of its distance from the capital, might be entirely isolated, made it her duty to flee, but she was a prisoner. Bothwell, on leaving, had

¹ W. Drury to Cecil, 12th June. Border Corresp., State Paper Office. Miss Strickland, III., 305.

² Registrum honoris de Morton, I., No. 25, 23.

³ Letter from Drury to Cecil quoted above.

⁴ "Le château que la Royne et le duc pensoient entièrement à leur dévotion ne tira jamais; ce qui nous donna bien à penser que

la menée estoit grande et bien entendue par ceux qui la faisoient." Du Croc to the King, 17th June 1567. Prince Labanoff, VII., 113. Later, having personally had to complain of the rebels, the same ambassador wrote: "Le capitane a tousjours bougé de concert avec les aultres, qui est un vray traître nommé Baffour." The same to the same, 30th June, Teulet II., 326. ⁵ See Dissertation, II., iv.

entrusted her to the keeping of his truest friends; the gates were carefully barred, and flight was well nigh impossible. The Queen baffled the watchfulness of her keepers. Dressed as a man, she got through a window, went down along the wall and mounted a horse which a friend had ready a little way off.¹ She rode about not knowing where to take refuge. Her anxiety was great; silence and darkness surrounded her, and whithersoever she turned her horse's head, the same prospect lay before her. After riding about for a long time, during which she often retraced her path and crossed several streams, she found herself opposite Black Castle, only a few miles from Borthwick. Mary was beginning to think herself free. Away from her husband she hoped to gain over the rebels and to bring back peace; she therefore took care to avoid the frequented roads for fear of meeting some of Bothwell's followers, or enemies with whom she could not come to any understanding. Fate would have it that in her daring course she should run headlong into the hands of him from whom she fled. He was at the head of a small band, and was availing himself of the darkness to watch the rebels. Mary was obliged to follow him, and they went together as far as Dunbar.²

The enemy, urged on by Elizabeth,³ had fallen back upon Edinburgh, and threatened to attack it. The town was full of anxiety. Those who were as yet unattached to either party, and whom neither a frank affection nor an open hatred made to lean more to the one camp than the other, knew not what to do, fearing to join, not the bad cause, but the one least likely to win. They merely closed the gates which had been broken in while the cannons of the citadel were silent, as the Governor was an accomplice.⁴

On the same day the confederates put forth a declaration in which

¹ Account given by the Captain of Inchkeith. Copy in the Bibliothèque Imp. de Paris. Fonds de St Germain Harlay. That circumstantial account of the events which took place up to the time of Mary Stuart's captivity is found in the Papers of du Croc, ambassador of France, at Edinburgh. F. von Raumer attributes it to the ambassador himself, Teulet attributes it to an officer, most likely French. (Von Raumer. *Briefe aus Paris*. Teulet, *Négociations*.) The context is quite opposed to those two ideas. From several passages we conclude that it is the report of the Governor of Inchkeith. Since the month of September 1563, there had been no French in

Inchkeith, and the command of the island had been entrusted to Lord Glamis. Herries' *Mem.*, 67. As several things unfavourable to the Queen were found in that anonymous account, it was of importance to find out if a French pen, and especially if a French ambassador, had written it. That memoir was probably annexed by the ambassador to his dispatch of 17th June.

² Account given by the Captain of Inchkeith. Miss Strickland, *Ill.*, 307-309; M. Wiesener, 398.

³ *Registrum honoris de Morton*, No. 23, 20.

⁴ *Diurnal of Occur.*, 112.

they deplored the murder of the King, the abduction of the Queen, and the danger threatening the young Prince, and called upon all the inhabitants, nobles and citizens to join them, under penalty of being held guilty as authors of the crimes done.¹ On the following day proclamation was made in Edinburgh of the sentiments of the nobles under the existing circumstances: "als," said they, "Bothwell has put violent handes in our Soveraine Ladies maist nobill persoune and thair-after wardit hir Hienes in the Castell of Dunbar, and be a lang space invironit hir Majestie with Men of Weir, his Friendis and Kinsmen, and that hir Grace being destitute of all Counsale and Serwandis, the said Erle seducit, be unleisume waies, our said Soverane to ane unhonest marriage with himself, quhilk, from the Beginning, is null, and of nane Effect; Als this same Bothwell is the principall author, Devisor and instrument of the cruell and maist abhominabill murther committit upoun umquhill our Soueraine Lorde King Henrie Stuart, of gud memorie—Als he, not being content and satisfiet with the cruell murther done upoun our said Soueraine King Henrie Stuart, ravishing, warding, and seduceinge of the Quenis Majestie to ane unlauchfull Mariage, and holding hir zit in captivitie, is nowe, as the saidis Lordis and Nobilitie are informit, making sum assemblies of men trysting and perswading them to assist him, quhilk we luke can be for na uthir Effect, but to comitt the like murther upone the sone, as was upon the Fadder, to the quhilk the saidis Lordis and Nobilitie mindis, with all thair Forces, to resist and als to delyver the Quenis Grace furth of the maist miserable Bondage foresaid: Thairfor ordanis ane Messenger or Officiar at Arms of the principal towns in the Kingdom to command and charge all and Sundry Leigis of this Realme to pass furthwards with the saidis Lordis of Secreit Counsall and Nobilitie, to delyver the Quenis Majesties maist nobill Persoun furth of captivitie and prison in which she is kept by the Earl of Bothwell, to revenge the death of King Henry, and to save the Prince of the wicked interprise formed against him."² A strange boldness in men who pretended to revenge upon Bothwell the King's death, of which they had themselves been the first authors and the accomplices; a strange boldness to pretend to avenge the slavery of the Queen after having given her up at Ainslie's

¹ A declaration in the name of the nobility of Scotland. Anderson's Collection, I., 128.

² Abridgment of the original Proclamation, Anderson, I., 131, sq.; Spottiswoode, II., 57.—"Ils fondoient l'occasion de leur assemblée sur trois pointcs: le premier sur la

liberté de la Royne, disant que, tant qu'elle seroyt entre les mains de celui qui la tenoyt, elle ne seroit jamais à son aise."—Du Croc to Charles IX.; Prince Labanoff, VII., 114. That declaration of the nobles is peremptory.

tavern ; a strange boldness, indeed, to pretend to save from danger the young Prince whom they had in their power!¹ Be that as it may, those harangues tended to disturb the public mind, and a great number of the Queen's friends, misled by those signs of devotedness, came to swell the ranks of the nobles. There we have the crafty policy marking the time of Elizabeth and Catherine de Médicis : though the real state of affairs contradicted the nobles, they maintained they were in the right ; and in that way they deceived the mob.

The people, unaccountably, would not believe the false marks of attachment lavished by the authors of the proclamation, nor the calumnies which some nobles, the declared enemies of the Queen, wished to be believed, so as to lessen the good opinion of her which so startling a manifesto might have left in honest consciences. From the beginning of her reign in Scotland, there had been many troubles among the nobility and the Court ; but the people of Edinburgh had never been doomed to suffer, and Mary's kind-heartedness was known to them all. The paid troops and those alone that came from foreign countries, took up the quarrels of their masters.²

A stubborn hatred had set the Duke of Orkney and the rest of the nobility against each other ; and on both sides they were making ready for the struggle. On the 14th of June Bothwell, at the head of two thousand men, set out from Dunbar, and spent the night at Seton. A proclamation likely to rouse the courage of the soldiers was read to them ; and Bothwell, proud of being at the head of some troops, offered single combat to any man in the other camp. On the following day he found the enemy encamped at Musselburgh. The confederate army was small in number, but well appointed and made up entirely of old soldiers, commanded by the nobles ; in the Duke's army there were many untrained soldiers who were worn out with fatigue ; for they had not slept on the previous night, and had been marching for a long way under a scorching sun. Besides they had no wish to fight ; for, seeing the brutality with which Bothwell treated the Queen since her marriage, they believed her favourable to the enemy.³

The armies encamped two miles apart. Bothwell was on Carberry Hill, and held the entrenchment made by the English at the battle of

¹ The Earl of Mar, deceived by their fine words, made common cause with the rebels.—Tytler, III., 254.

² Bishop Keith, 400. "Notwithstanding this proclamation, the people did not join unto these lords as was expected."—Knox, v. 355.

Buchanan confirms that detail : *Contra, libertatis vindices in magnis versabantur angustiis : paucis enim, contra quam speraverant, ad famam tam præclari facinoris, accurrentibus*, etc., xviii., 44.

³ Melville's Memoirs, 182.

Pinkie. The confederate army, posted on the opposite side of a stream which flowed between, extended across the plain, while on its rear was a small hill near Musselburgh. Mary, plainly dressed,¹ went through the ranks of her soldiers, encouraging them to fight bravely. She had thrown aside her wonted sadness, and now she seemed to all, bold and full of confidence.

Du Croc tried once more to bring about peace. Civil war is so dreadful, that the worthy man could not look on quietly while Scots were slaughtering Scots, without making a fresh effort to stop the fighting. The rebels engaged to make peace, if the Queen would leave Bothwell. Single combat, too, was spoken of. They required that the Duke, to clear his character thoroughly, should meet, one after another, all who should throw down the glove. The terms were outrageous; but single combat was then in full force. Du Croc represented to the Queen the great grief that would be felt by the Court of France on learning the desperate state of affairs, and assured her that the nobles would certainly surrender and kneel before her, if she would separate from Bothwell;² he begged her to think that she was about to wage war on her own subjects; that to do so did not become so good a Princess. Mary replied that the nobles had given her up to Bothwell, that they were going against what they had signed (at Ainslie's supper), and that he whom they now attacked with so much animosity had lately been pronounced innocent by them; that, notwithstanding her grievances, she was ready to receive them with open arms, if they would own their faults.³

Bothwell appeared just as she had uttered those words. To make a show of courage before his army, and lead to the belief that he was innocent, he asked in a loud voice if, against him alone, the nobles were enraged. "The nobles," replied the French envoy, in the same loud tone, "are the Queen's very humble subjects and servants and your mortal enemies." The last words were pronounced in a lower tone, so

¹ I differ perceptibly from the description of the Captain of Inchkeith, "Elle estoit abillée d'une cotte rouge qui ne luy venoit que à demie de la jambe," because this version is contradicted by an Englishman, an eye-witness, who remained beside Mary during the whole day of the 15th (quoted in Miss Strickland, III., 322), and by a sketch of the period, probably sent to Elizabeth after the engagement at Carberry Hill,—(State Pap. Office, Scotland), without date, but classified in June 1567.

² "Ils me dirent," writes du Croc, "que si la Royne se vouloyt tirer à part de ce malheureux qui la tenoit, ils l'iroient reconnoistre, la servir à genoux et luy demeureroient très humbles et très obeissants subjects et serveurs."—Du Croc to the King, 17th June; Prince Labanoff, VII., 116, and Teulet.

³ The most of those who signed the bond appeared as leaders of the revolt.—Birrel's Diarey, 9. Account given by the Captain of Inchkeith.

that Bothwell and the Queen alone should be able to hear. Bothwell continued, "I have ever wished them well, but they are envious of my greatness; they sadden the Queen and afflict me: God will see to it. But as we ought to shed as little blood as possible of our countrymen, tell them that if there is among them any one willing to fight a single combat, we shall settle our quarrel by the sword, with God our judge." The Queen would not consent, and the matter was at an end. Besides, the enemy was advancing, and had neared the stream; prudence warned them to lose no time in vain words, and du Croc went away, leaving the Queen in tears.¹

Although Bothwell's cause was a bad one, he put on a bold face; he commanded calmly, without betraying the least sign of weakness or wavering. Each army had stopped at about a hundred paces from the stream; a small ravine lay between them; so that the attacking force had to go down, cross the stream, and climb the other bank. Neither of the armies wished to begin the fight, because the position of the attackers was bad, the adversaries having only to rush upon them, and crush them in the hollow. From her position the Queen saw, and not without terror, the banner of the confederates. It was large and white, and had on it a green tree half broken, drawings of the King, in a white shirt, lying dead beneath, and the young Prince on his knees, holding in his hands this motto, "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!"²

The armies stood, facing each other, from eleven in the morning till five in the evening, when both sides seemed ready to make terms. Bothwell came out of the ranks, sword in hand, to fight any noble who should be willing to meet him. The Laird of Tullibardine came forward, but was set aside as he was unequal in rank. After much delay, Lindsay was chosen to represent his side. He was a lord of somewhat low degree when compared to the other chiefs of the confederates; but, tired of waiting, they were obliged to accept him. "Thereupon," says the Captain of Inchkeith, "he put off his armour, and, after taking some refreshment, knelt in front of the army, and in a loud voice prayed to God, entreating Him in His mercy to protect the innocent, and in His justice to overthrow the ruthless shedder of the innocent blood of their King."³

Kirkaldy thought that change of plan displayed cowardice; and, heedless of the issue of the battle, he started off at the head of his

¹ Du Croc to the King, 17th June.—Prince Labanoff and Teulet.

² There is a sketch of it at the State Paper Office, Scot. Ser.

³ Account given by the Captain of Inchkeith. —Bibliothèque Imp., Paris; Teulet, II., 306. Anonymous letter of 16th June.—State Pap. Off., Scotland.

cavalry, to intercept Bothwell's army on its way to Dunbar, and hem it in between cross fires in the ravine. The Queen, seeing matters assume a threatening aspect, sent for Kirkaldy; for Bothwell, busy with his duel, had seen nothing. When he saw the Laird of Grange draw near, he would have killed him, had not the Queen interfered. He struggled for a long time against her wish for peace, and stoutly disputed her opinions. All was useless; Mary was tired of war and sedition; she parted from the Duke, after promising to be ever true to him. That was what the nobles wanted; they would have been very much puzzled if they had had to try Bothwell, who, after all, was perhaps not so guilty as they themselves were.¹

The victory was gained. Kirkaldy returned at once after informing the nobles. Mary stretched out her hand to him, and said, "Laird of Grange, I render myself unto you upon the same conditions ye rehearsit unto me in the name of the lordis."² Kirkaldy kissed her hand, and taking her horse by the bridle, led his Sovereign to the foot of the hill. Some lords seeing her coming, advanced to meet her. "My lords," said the Queen to them, "I am come unto you not out of any fear I had of my life, or yet doubting of the victory if matters had gone to the worst; but I abhor the shedding of Christian blood, especially of those that are mine own subjects, and will therefore yield unto, and be ruled hereafter by your counsels, trusting you will respect me as your born Princess and Queen."³ "Madam," answered with great reverence the astute Morton, "heir is the place zour Grace should be; and we will honour, serve, and obey zow, as ever the Nobilitie of this realme did ony of zour progenitors of befoir."⁴

Those pacific words were drowned by horrible cries of "burn the whore! burn the murderess!" On hearing those cries which the most seditious could scarcely use even against the lowest of women, Mary did not grow pale. "If it be the blood of your Princess, you desire," said she to Morton, "take it; I am here to offer it, nor needs there other means to seek to be revenged."⁵ Morton stood abashed. He, the most violent of the confederates, found his audacity fail him, but his pride soon got the better of him, and he had the Queen surrounded by a strong guard to prevent all escape.

¹ *Affaires du Comte de Boduel*, 18, 19.—Blackwood, *Œuvres*, 579; Chalmers, 1., 354. See *Dissertation*, II., iv.

² Melville's *Memoirs*, 184.

³ Spottiswoode II. 62. Bishop Keith 402.

⁴ Goodall, II. 165.

⁵ Lord Scrope to Cecil, 17th June.—Miss Strickland, III., 324.

She was then treated with effrontery, cruel meanness and indecent joy, to an extent which can scarce be told. Her march of sorrow was beginning. When Mary passed along between the files of soldiers, coarse epithets were showered on her. The standard representing Darnley's death was carried before her; she desired it to be removed; they stretched it out between two pikes that she might fully realise its horrors. The minds of the soldiers had been so misled by slander, that all made it their duty to insult her. The remembrance of the frightful fate of her husband, the imprecation on the son, the gibes and taunts of the brutal soldiers, and the treachery of the nobles, weighed upon her mind, and plunged her into the depths of despair. Amid that abuse she fainted, and had to be held upon her horse. The most conflicting passions rent her soul; her sadness changed to a burst of anger, and then she could no longer bridle her tongue. If she turned away her eyes from the horrible picture, the hootings of the soldiers kept alive her woes. She was bathed in tears, and sobbed piteously, yet the army betrayed no sympathy. She suddenly noticed near her a friend of her youth, Patrick Lindsay; but from him, instead of kind words, she got only bitter reproofs. Crushed under the blow, she wished to stop, but her horse was urged on, and she was dragged away in spite of herself.

The insolence of her enemies grew with her weakness; it soon knew no bounds; the soldiers left their ranks to insult her and rejoice at her sad agony.¹ Kirkaldy could not stand by and see so much ignominy heaped upon her. Casting his eyes upon the Queen, he found her in so pitiable a state, that, heedless of his life, he drew his sword and chastised the most insolent.²

The sad procession went slowly forward. At length they reached the gates of Edinburgh, where the Queen felt somewhat more resigned, hoping to find at last some friends, some whose hearts would beat in unison with hers, or at least some who would not harm her. The feelings of the towns-people had changed, changed indeed. The inhabitants crowded around to gloat over her wretchedness. The enemies of the Queen had done so much to stifle pity, that the mob looked upon such treatment of her as sport. The people thronged

¹ "She was entertained with such scorn and contempt, with such vile and opprobrious language from the soldiers, as is neither tolerable nor fit to be mentioned." *Memoirs of the Stuarts*, 157. Craufurd's *Memoirs* 25, 33. I do

not know what Knox was thinking about when he wrote: "She was received with all respect." Knox v., 357.

² *Memoirs of Kirkaldy*, 176.

the streets, and with loud cries answered the wild laughter of the soldiers. The scum of the horrible rabble which always comes forward to jeer at the unfortunate one who is being led to the scaffold or to prison, showed its delight by cries loud and long. The Queen's friends had to be silent, or keep out of the way. There were present only the insulters of the weak, and the unfeeling crowd who, neither sad nor joyful, saw their injured and scoffed-at Queen pass by, bent down by woes and sufferings.¹

The nobles had gained too much and done too much to draw back. They had to fear the Queen's anger, and those who still believed in her boundless clemency, dared not pronounce themselves, lest the hatred of their more embittered companions should fall upon them. They led Mary, not to Holyrood, as she expected, but to the house of the Provost, one of their accomplices.² It was ten o'clock in the evening. The barbarous jailors drove away the women who had courageously followed her so far, and then shut her up alone. Supper was served soon after, but she ate none. The night may easily be fancied: mournful ending of a day spent in alarm. The darkness of night came after the brilliancy of day; the silence of a prison came after the insults of the rabble, and the Queen, left alone, wearied, restless and unnerved, had not even the enjoyment so dear to a woman, that of changing her raiment soiled by the dust of the journey. Next day a raging fever set in. People gathered around her prison with the dawn. Hearing their murmurs she rose without heeding the disorder of her dress, appeared at the window and besought pity. "Good people," she said in accents of agony, "good people! either satisfy your hatred and cruelty by taking my miserable life, or relieve me from the hands of these inhuman and infamous traitors;" but suddenly, getting a sight of the horrifying flag which had so unnerved her the day before, she shrieked and disappeared. The people thought she had fainted. They could not but sympathise with such despair; deep and bitter cries of sorrow filled the air.³

¹ The disorder was so great that the French ambassador wrote two days afterwards: "Je prie Dieu qu'il conseille ce pauvre royaume qui est aujourd'hui le plus affligé et tourmenté que ce soit sous le ciel; car tout en est au plus grand désordre qui sauroyt se dire." Prince Labanoff, VII. 124.

² Blackwood. *Œuvres complètes*, 570—Herrera 89—Memoirs of Kirkaldy 166-177. This house now destroyed, I believe, was in the

High Street, not far from the house of Mary of Guise.

³ John Beaton to the Archbishop of Glasgow. Malcolm Laing II. 107, sq. Tytler III. 255, 257. Miss Strickland III. xxxv. Buchanan xviii. 47-49. The ambassador du Croc in vain asked to see her. He was told that "elle tenoit des langages estranges." Prince Labanoff VII. 123. He asked again at the end of June with no better success. Teulet II. 325.

Those sympathetic wails did not bring the Queen's release, and it could not, without danger, have been sought for by any one, save by du Croc, who, led astray by Lethington, believed Mary to be guilty, and one who ought to be guarded against. He therefore would not seek her release. He was vexed by the turmoil of the day before, and believed the Queen's enemies, when they said that she herself had caused the tumult.¹

The complaints of the people turned into cries of rage when they saw their demands unheeded. Now Mary would have been free, if her good faith had not again misled her. Yet she had no lack of trials. After murdering her secretary, the nobles killed her husband, and were now keeping her in their power. While treating her most severely, they, with satanic skill, made her believe that she was a Queen and a Sovereign, that they acted thus, only to keep her from visiting them with deserved punishment, and that, in other respects, they were entirely devoted to her. Mary believed it, and ordered the people to keep quiet.²

At about nine o'clock in the evening, the Queen was marched from the house of the Provost to the palace of her fathers. Two files of soldiers served her as an escort, and the standard which had so shocked her, was borne in front. She walked between Morton and Athole; Mary Seton and Mary Livingston, the companions of her childhood, followed her step by step, despite the efforts made to part them. In the Canongate the noble victim was assailed by a storm of insults. A crowd of low women cheered at her misfortune, and called her by the name best fitted for themselves, crying: "Burn her! Drown her!" and the gentle Mary, more self-possessed than on the previous day, answered them with these words only: "I am innocent; I have done nothing worthy of blame; I am your native Sovereign; you are deceived by false traitors. Good Christian people, either take my

¹ Du Croc to the Queen-mother, 17th June. Teulet II. 309. The same Lethington swore to him, "by his God, that until then they had no understanding with the Queen of England," *ibidem*. That might be believed if there were not in the State Paper Office two letters from him, and several from his friends addressed to Cecil in June 1567. Du Croc said of Mary Stuart: "the unfortunate facts are too well proved." What is clearly proved is, that the French ambassador was duped by more cunning men, as M.

Wiesener has showed in his beautiful book on Mary Stuart, 427-431.

² "The honest sort among the citizens, stung with remorse and pity, crowded to the place, and had certainly set her at liberty, if the conspirators who knew the honest temper of the Queen, had not immediately run up stairs to the room where she stood, and with a well feigned grief, protested they were heartily sorry they had given her any cause of complaint." Craufurd's *Memoirs*, 33. *History of James the Sixth*, 13. M. Wiesener, 416.

life, or free me from their cruelty.”¹ In truth, a great grief lay upon her countenance, but that sadness was overcome by a still greater resignation. On her arrival at the palace, she was as much a prisoner, as she had been at the Provost’s. Hope revived; the words which Lethington had spoken to her had reassured her, and she believed herself again free. She was no longer so; Holyrood was but one of the stations on her way to Lochleven, and her enemies had already cleared away all obstacles: all was decided.

The evening after the Queen’s arrest, they had met, and, as at Ainslie’s tavern, conspired. By common consent, they drew out a fraudulent manifesto, under the name of bond of concurrence, in which they deplored, as they had already done five days before, the king’s murder, the ignominy which it reflected upon Scotland, the ridiculous proceedings which had taken place for the acquittal of Bothwell, his boldness towards the Queen, his design of carrying away the young Prince, and of treating him as he had treated the father, etc.; they pledged themselves on their life, honour and goods, to set matters right, to break the marriage contracted illegally, to raise their sovereign from the thralldom, bondage and ignominy, which she was suffering at the hands of Bothwell, and to place the child’s person in safe keeping.²

That respectful language is in deep contrast with the conduct of the nobles at the same period, and one is naturally led to seek the reason of it. Another document, drawn out on the same evening, and intended to be kept secret, throws aside the curtain, and shows the inmost thoughts of the rebels in the proper light: “The Lords,” they say, “had oppinnit and declarit unto hir hienes hir awin estait and condicioun, and the miserable estait of this realme, with the danger that hir dearest sone the prince stude in; requirand that she wold suffer and command the said murther, and authoris therof to be punist, fand in hir Majestie sic untowardness and repugnance thairto, that rather she apperit to fortifie and mantene the said erll Boithuile and his complices in the saidis wickit crymes, nor to suffer justice pas forwart; quhairthrow gif hir Hienes should be left in that state to follow hir awin inordinat passion it wold not faill to succeid to the final confusioun of the haill realme; sua that efter mature consultation be commoun advyse it is thocht convenient, concludit and decernit that hir Majesties persoun be sequestrat fra all societie of the said erll Boithuile, and fra all having of intelligence with him or ony utheris

¹ Drury to Cecil, Miss Strickland, III., 332.

² Bishop Keith, 404-406.

quhairby he may have ony comfort to eschaip dew punishment for his demeritis, and finding na place mair meitt nor commodious for hir Majestie to remane into nor the hous and place of Lochlevin; ordanis, commandis and chargeis Patrick Lord Lindsay of the Byris, Williame Lord Ruthven and William Douglas of Lochlevin, to pas and convoy hir Majestie to the said place of Lochlevin, and the said Lard to ressave her thairin, and thair thay and every ane of thame to keip hir Majestie suirlie within the said place, and on na wyse to suffer hir pass furth of the same, or to have intelligence fra ony maner of personis, or yit to send advertismentis or direct hir intelligence with ony levand personis except in ther awin presence and audience, or be the commandiment and directioun of the Lordis undersubscrivand or ane part of thame, representing the Counsall at Edinburgh or utherwise quhair thai sall resort for the tyme, as thai will ansuer to God, and upon thair dewitie to the commoun weill of this countrie; kepend thir presentis for thair warrant."¹

On the night of the 16th-17th of June, when Mary, wearied out by suffering and weeping had at length fallen asleep, Ruthven and Lindsay entered the room where she was seeking rest, and forced her to rise. The Queen knew not what those two deputies of the nobility wanted with her; she knew neither whither she was going, nor what would become of her. She was not given time to ask. Scarcely awake, a cloak was thrown over the short dress which she had just put on, and they forcibly dragged her out of the room.² Mary found a number of persons at the foot of the staircase; she was seated on horseback, and not told why,³ and the procession wended its way towards the banks of the Forth. A boat awaited her; she crossed, and soon after was in sight of Lochleven Castle.

That castle, since a place of great interest, stands on a small island in Loch Leven. It is a high square building, now a ruin, the appearance of which is the more gloomy, as nature around is more smiling. Mary looked upon it with dread; she, nevertheless, strove to master her feelings, and seemed to be resigned. She was placed in the dreariest part of that dull castle, and the heavy doors were closed upon her.

¹ Act for sequestrating the Q. M^{tie}'s person, Registrum honoris de Morton, I., 26, 24-26, and app. in the second volume of Malcolm Laing. The signers are nine in number, five of whom had signed the Ainslie bond. The bringing together of those facts is of great

value for Queen Mary's justification. See Proofs, V.

² Caussin, Jebb II., 64.

³ "Ils la montent sur une vieille haridelle qu'ils auoient trouu e paissant dans un pr e."—Blackwood, Œuvres Comp., 570.

Unhappy Princess, there she was to spend almost a year in solitude. Her keeper was a woman of debauched habits and extravagant pride, and one fond of cruel boasting, who happened to be soured by family affairs. As Moray's mother, and a relative of Morton, that wicked woman was still more closely bound to them, by her love of intrigue. She received the royal prisoner with a fierce joy, and made up her mind to wound her feelings, and make her sorry she had ever worn a crown. Very soon she told her that Moray, her son, was the legitimate heir of James V., that Mary of Guise was a courtesan, and that her daughter had usurped the rights of blood. "Madam," replied Mary Stuart, calmly, "Lord James is too honest to say so himself."¹

While those things were going on, Holyrood was sacked. The jewels and plate, and the rare and precious objects which Mary had, were stolen; the chapel was profanely robbed, and the whole house pillaged. Scenes of vandalism came close upon scenes of cruelty; the nobles ravaged the palace of their broken-hearted Queen. Those fierce and blood-thirsty ruffians sought a change in greed and plunder, and Kirkaldy, grieved at those disorders, began to regret that the Queen had surrendered.²

¹ Craufurd's Memoirs, 42. Vili palla amictam in Carcerem ad Locum Levinum contruserunt, sub custodia matris Moravii; quæ Jacobi quinti pellex incarcerationæ Reginæ calamitatem petulantissime insectata est,

gloriando se legitimam fuisse Jacobi V., uxorem, filiumque Moravium prolem esse legitimam. Camden Hist., I., 113. Sander-son's History, 50.

² Kirkaldy's Memoirs, 181-183.

CHAPTER XI.

1567.

MARY AT LOCHLEVEN—HER WRETCHEDNESS—THE AMBASSADOR OF FRANCE DENIED ACCESS TO HER—THE QUEEN'S FRIENDS AT HAMILTON—THE AMBASSADORS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN SCOTLAND—LETHINGTON'S FALSEHOODS—EMBARRASSMENT OF AFFAIRS—INTRIGUING OF THE SCOTS AND ENGLISH—THE QUEEN FORCED TO ABDICATE—LETHINGTON'S DOUBLE-DEALING—ANGER OF ELIZABETH—BEHAVIOUR OF THE HAMILTONS.

MARY was now entering on a life new to her. Plunged so deeply as she was in grief, that unfortunate Queen little thought that any one would be cruel enough further to wring her heart. She hoped the walls of Lochleven Castle would shield her from insult, and that the nobles, fearing and wishing nothing further, would let her pass the days of her captivity in peace. But no; every one in the prison was against her. While her keeper taunted her, the nobles thought of strangling her. They talked of tying her by the neck to her bed-post, and telling the people that in despair she had taken her own life.¹ Several of the nobles would not have that; they were cowardly enough to ill-treat their Queen, but not ruthless enough, or rather, too careful, to do such a deed. Besides, they saw they were forsaken. The people, bewildered for a moment by slanders, had naturally enough given full vent to their rage; but having cooled down after the slander was proved false, they stopped short, and daily more and more regretted that they had treated her so badly. The patience of the victim, the outrages heaped upon her, her swoonings, the terrible night at the Provost's, and the anguish of the morning, all those the people remembered when too late, and, ashamed of themselves, cast the disgrace thereof upon the nobles.²

¹ "Les principaux auteurs de ceste trahison, parens et alliez de Murray, qui tendoient à le faire Roy, estoient d'aduis de la faire estrangler aux quenouilles de son lict, et faire courir le bruit qu'elle s'estoit pendue de ses propres mains, de peur qu'elle auoit d'estre defaite par iustice, son parricide ayant esté decouvert."—Blackwood, *Martyre de Marie Stuart*, 570, 571. On the 18th July, Throckmorton wrote to Cecil that the fury of the

people was extreme, and that the nobles were disposed "to use all severitye to the Quene." On the 20th, "the Quene is in great danger by reason of the great rage and furye of the people against her." On the 31st, that he had "preservyd hyr lyffe," but that "the continuance is uncertayne."—Stevenson's *Illustrations and State Pap. Off.*

² Herries' *Memoirs*, 96.

But matters were taking a fresh aspect, and by one of those changes not uncommon in the world, Morton and his friends were seized with fright. The voice of the people was making itself heard, and they could no longer hush it: proud of themselves one day, and pointed at by the finger of scorn the next, they feared the people's hatred which they had themselves roused.

Those of the nobles still faithful to the Queen had met at Hamilton; the guilty lords sent letters showing a strong wish for peace, begging them to come and try to fix on a settled and sure form of Government. The former refused, and were also in vain asked to sit at the General Assembly of the Reformed Church. Unfortunately those well-meaning men gained nothing; for instead of taking advantage of Morton's terror and rousing the people in favour of the Queen, they lost their time in idle schemes and needless talk. It was not the time for talk; earnestness in doing and union of party were wanted; they had neither the one nor the other, and the Archbishop of St Andrews, their head, was not at all fitted to lead a faction.

The rebels, profiting by that indecision, made good their power. On the 17th, under pretext of avenging the King, they seized the unfortunate Blacater,² and quietly put to death Captain Cullen, whom they feared to trust; on the 20th of May they arrested Bothwell's valet, George Dalgleish, who never again gained his freedom. The castle of Edinburgh favoured them, and proud of that support, they, as true and lawful sovereigns, looked after the affairs of the kingdom.³

After deceiving du Croc, and refusing Villeroi, who had been sent by Catherine de Médicis, leave to see the prisoner,⁴ they sought help from the English. Elizabeth knew not what to do; to help the rebels was to acknowledge their right to dispose of crowns as they willed; to withhold her help was to have nothing to do with their alliance. Ambition and the thirst for honour clashed, and, if hatred of

¹ Prince Labanoff, VII., 128.

² He was hanged and quartered on the 24th: "Before his death he confessit and grantit that he was neuer airt nor pairt of that slauchter, as he wold ansuer to the eternall God on the day of judgement."—*Diurnal of Occur.*, 116; *Craufurd's Memoirs*, 35; *Herries' Memoirs*, 84; *Chalmers*, I., 362.

³ "Ils tiennent ceste ville et le chasteau," writes du Croc, "qui avoit tousjours dormi jusqu'à ceste heure. Mais, depuis deux jours,

le capitaine d'icellé a toujours bougé de concert avec les aultres, qui est un vray traître nommé Balfour." Du Croc to the King, 30th June.—*Labanoff*, VII., 128.

⁴ Villeroi had orders to tell du Croc that the King was willing to aid the Queen of Scots, provided the interests of France should lose nothing thereby.—*Teulet*, II., 322; *Supplém. au Prince Labanoff*, 132. He deserved to lose all, and lost all.—*Teulet*, II., 325; *Birrel's Diarey*, 10.

Mary made the daughter of the Tudors lean towards Morton, the dread of setting an example which might prove fatal to herself, kept her from openly stating her mind. She not only felt herself becoming greater by the downfall of her rival, but also rejoiced with a secret pride in the part which she was called upon to play. Her minister, Cecil, encouraged that thought, thereby helping the Scottish rebels, and by supporting their policy, had been, for a long time, bringing about the dethronement of the Queen of Scots.¹ Melville, secretly gained over to England, made himself the go-between of the two parties, and tried to serve his new policy. He paid a visit to his old mistress whom he was shamefully betraying; but he was allowed to speak to her only in presence of Ruthven, Lindsay, and William Douglas, and the interview, as one may imagine, was of no consequence. Some time after the nobles, probably thinking that Mary might speak openly and reveal to him her innermost thoughts, allowed him to see her a second time, and that time without witnesses. Mary was reserved, and merely asked clothes for herself and her ladies.²

Soon after there arrived in Scotland a much more important personage, the grave Throckmorton. He came from England with proposals of peace. His instructions were numerous, and were addressed to the Queen and to the nobles. To the Queen he was to say that her shameful conduct had brought about a deserved punishment, but that Elizabeth, touched by her misfortunes, wished to secure her release, and see her out of the hands of her rebellious subjects; nay more, that she would use her influence, and even her power, to set her free and raise her again to her throne; in short, that she prayed her good sister to banish all thought of revenge, and provide only for her freedom, the punishment of the King's murderers, and the safety of the young Prince.³

He had orders to tell the rebel nobles, that notwithstanding Mary's faults, their behaviour was strange, unjust and scandalous; that subjects have no right to lay hands on the person of a sovereign; that prayers, counsels and remonstrances were the only means which they might use; that public order required it to be so; that Elizabeth was determined they should set the Queen free; that she promised them assistance to form anew the Government, to punish the murderers and make safe the freedom of the Prince, and that

¹ M. Wiesener, *Marie Stuart et le Comte de Bothwell*, 436 sq.

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² Miss Strickland, III., 352.

³ Bishop Keith, 411-414.

under the present circumstances they ought to hasten to carry out her wishes.¹

The nobles were puzzled by those counsels of an imperious Queen, who until that time had been their mainstay. They had resolved to treat their fallen Queen with severity, little dreaming that any one, especially Elizabeth, would interfere. They dreaded, moreover, to let Throckmorton see the captive, lest evil might fall upon them. The condition imposed on any one speaking to the Queen, was that the interview should be in presence of Lindsay and Ruthven, but such a condition could not be imposed upon an ambassador. They saw that clearly themselves, and had little doubt that their conduct would bring upon them the displeasure of the neighbouring governments; but by their lying and sinful policy, they had put themselves in such a position that they could give no one leave to speak to Mary in private, without running the risk of having their crimes brought to light. They, therefore, found it necessary to raise obstacles to keep the truth from being known; and, staking their influence and reputation, they chose to pass for proud and haughty men, rather than be thought traitors. Mary, too, in a private interview would certainly have called forth pity; her misfortunes, her beauty, the indignities which she had undergone, and of which Throckmorton was probably entirely ignorant, must have influenced the English envoy. After carefully considering all things, and remembering that they might go on coining falsehoods at their will, they thought that to keep the Queen shut up within the walls of Lochleven Castle, was better than to grant an interview from which only annoyance could come: the permission was refused.

Edinburgh was becoming alarmed; a public fast had been ordered for the purpose of supplicating Heaven's Mercies on the New Government,² the alarm growing as the week passed on. Knox inflamed the fanaticism of men naturally cruel. Throckmorton tried, but to no purpose, to keep him quiet. Resting upon the Bible on which he commented, after his own fashion, he chose the most terrible examples to frighten and startle men, and to kindle sedition. His forcible language always told upon the rioters who listened to him, and the nobles, already too much enraged against the Queen, concealed their private interests, and feigned to work zealously for religion. When the public mind is in such a state, mischief is to be dreaded.³

¹ Bishop Keith, 414, 415.

² Birrel's Diary, 11.

³ Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 18th July.

Robertson's app., 19th July. Bishop Keith, 420 sq., and 21st July. Stevenson's Illustrations, 240.

The Queen's friends dared hardly think of her; terror paralysed them. Throckmorton was no longer listened to, and the men partial to the captive Princess, were, without knowing it, infected by the madness of the over-excited.

Banded together to ruin their Sovereign, the lords disagreed only on the way of carrying out their plan. Some of them, by nature prudent, asked for her freedom, and wanted for her a power over which they should retain a control; others would have her banished from the kingdom: those were the moderate parties. Against those arose two other parties not less ambitious but more cruel: the first wanted a trial and imprisonment for life, the second, death.¹

One cannot help noticing how much ideas had changed since the appearance of Protestantism. The new creed showed in its demands, a thoroughly revolutionary spirit. Subjects, because Protestants,² set themselves up as judges of the government. Mary Stuart was the first victim; she escaped on account of the boldness and novelty of the proposal; her grandson, Charles the First was not so fortunate. When people have killed priests and overturned altars, they respect neither kings nor thrones; all authority vanishes, and things happen which call for serious thought.

While the nobles sought to render glory to God by fasting and praying, the English envoy stood aloof, as he knew not to whom to speak. With much difficulty he managed to see Morton on the 20th of July, but got from him no other reply than that the whole day being devoted to communion, sermons and public prayer, nobody had any time to think of him; to which the haughty Lord added that he would shortly send him his opinion.³

The same night, at eleven o'clock, Lethington came to Throckmorton mysteriously, and brought a document justifying the nobles, and explaining their conduct and the motives which had guided them. In that document—a base tissue of barefaced falsehoods against Mary Stuart, and of the coarsest flattery towards the Queen of England—Lethington had used all his power of deceit. He, who on the 16th had said to du Croc that he had no relations with England, pompously thanks Elizabeth; he, who had had a hand in all conspiracies, and who

¹ Throckmorton to Elizabeth 19th July. Bishop Keith, 420, 421.

² The learned critic, M. Wiesener, has clearly shown by comparisons that it was in the name of religion that Mary Stuart's life was

sought. Marie Stuart et le Comte de Bothwell, 446.

³ Stevenson's Illustrations, 237, 238; Bishop Keith, pref. xi.

had directed the blows which had been dealt, now laments over the King's fate. After seconding Bothwell, and selling the Queen to him, he shouts rape and adultery, and boasts of the insurrection and the means taken to free the Queen from the hands of the ravisher.¹ But in presence of the deeds done on the 15th, 16th, and 17th, it is not enough to say that no fault was found with the Queen; the facts speak out too plainly; then the author changes his tone and sentiments. Heedless of his former statement, he no longer cries aloud about the rape or the violence done to the Queen; he affirms that Mary is passionately fond of Bothwell, and that, if she were free, she would soon, to please him, ruin the kingdom, the nobility and her child. That is why the nobles, in what they have done and are to do, have kept and will keep in view only the "necessitie of the cause."

Throckmorton had until then kept silent, the better to hear what Lethington was reading to him. When the English ambassador heard of the "necessitie of the cause," he was struck by the words, and asked the meaning of them. Lethington, shaking his head, made him no other answer than, "You are a fox!"² From that day Throckmorton remained persuaded that they intended not only to rob Mary of her throne, but also, in case of need, to rob her of life.³

On the 24th of July the nobles at length gave a solemn audience to Throckmorton. They received him at the Tolbooth, and asked him the object of his mission, although they already knew all about it. In the evening they sent him a written reply, of which the following are the main points:

"Her Majesty the Queen of England has charged you chiefly with two things: to show her Highness our Queen that her conduct has been unbecoming and unseemly, and to console her thereafter for the grief which that declaration may cause her. We are not so inhumane that we would wish her Majesty to lack comfort; yet does the present estate require that good consideration be had how, after what sort, and by whom she be comforted . . . We know with what prudence and what discretion you could fulfil that duty. Only, as she might attribute great importance to your least words, we take it upon ourselves to give her consolations and wise counsels, persuaded as we are that God will touch her heart. If our efforts are crowned with success, as we hope

¹ Bishop Keith, 417, sq.

² "He made me no other aunswer, but shakynge hys heade, said, 'Vous êtes ung

renard!'" Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 21st July.—Stevenson's Illustrations, 240.

³ M. Wiesener, Marie Stuart et le Comte de Bothwell, 455.

they may be, it shall be the better for her Highness and for us all, and, we doubt not, the most satisfactory for the Queen, your mistress."¹

While Lethington and Throckmorton were busy planning how to console the Queen, ruffians were wringing a confession from her, to hurl her from the throne. That day, the 24th, is one of the most notable among the unlucky days of those luckless times. Robert Melville first spoke to the Queen of abdicating. He used gentleness and craft, spoke to her at great length of the nobles' devotedness to her, and of their attachment to her person, as if the Queen had not long known all about it. He gave her from them a ring set with a turquoise, and threatened their anger if she did not yield to their wishes. That ungrateful servant had imagined that the Queen would easily give in to his fine words, and sign her abdication. As Melville got no answer from her, he handed her a letter from Throckmorton, in conformity with his (Melville's) views, and believed his negotiation ended when the Queen, with a fixed look, said to him, "I had rather die than forsake the throne."² Mary, by giving her signature, would have thought she was falling short of her duty, and that she was betraying her people and son to the profit of some ambitious men.

Just as she was refusing Melville's entreaties, Lindsay entered noisily, threw some papers on the table, and, after many insults, demanded her signature. "You shall have my life," replied the captive, "never my signature." Lindsay was not a man to delay. Being of a brutal and unfeeling nature, he was fond of blood, and delighted in scenes of violence. Save in cunning, of which he had none, he was, in himself alone, the exact personification of his party. His fierceness made him of value to a party, and was the sole reason of his importance; while the others plotted, he and a few others of the same bent, without foreseeing or fearing the consequences, did the crimes; he had, besides, a hideous face. While Mary was giving her reasons for refusal, he changed countenance, and several times tried to interrupt her. When she had done, he exclaimed, with an oath, that he would have her signature whether she would or not, or that he would sign the deeds with her blood, and then throw her into the lake to feed the fish. He seasoned his language with fearful oaths which left no doubt as to his purpose.

Mary could choose only between death and abdication. In her

¹ The lords' second answer, Bishop Keith, would sooner renounce her life than her crown."
427. —Spottiswoode, II., 67.

² "The Queen answering in passion that she

distress she melted into tears; Lindsay did not leave her time to dry them up; he forced her to sign the papers as he placed them before her. The poor Queen consented reluctantly, while protesting that the signature, wrung from her by threats, could not be held binding.¹

The documents which Mary had signed were three in number. In the first, the Queen was reputed to have said that, crushed under the weight of an agitated reign, she sought rest; that, lest her son might meet with obstacles to his accession, she wished him to be crowned during her lifetime; that she freely, and of her own accord, abdicated in his favour, a thing most agreeable to a mother's heart. Then followed the names of the persons who were charged with those measures.

The second document was partly a repetition of the first; but the Queen, thinking of the wants of the young Prince, had chosen a man of great merit, and of boundless devotedness and affection, to be the guardian of the Prince, and Regent of the kingdom during the minority of the heir to the throne. That noble man was Moray.

The third settled the Council of the Regency in case Moray should refuse to be Regent, or happen to die.²

Lindsay had obtained the Queen's signature, and one thing alone was now needed to make the documents valid: that they should bear the seal of the crown. That operation had at first been thought an easy matter; but many difficulties beset the way through the energy of Thomas Sinclair, keeper of the seals. The Privy Council, to get his

¹ Blackwood Œuvres Complètes, 572-574; Teulet, Négociations, III., 110, 111; Whitaker, I., v. 1. "Terrified and overcome with fear . . . she put her hand without ever reading the thing, or hearing it read."—Herries' Memoirs, 97. "Amongst other imperfections in thes procedynges, thys is not the leaste, that the Quene of Scotlande has accorded and signed theys instrumentes and condycyons, she being in captyvytie; and therefore it is to be feared, but for theys and other respectes, *the tragydie wyll ende in the person of the Quene violentlye, as yt began in Dayves (Riccio) and her husbandes.*"—Throckmorton to Leicester, 26th July, Stevenson's Illustrations, 253, and the same to Cecil, 255, and Walter Mildmay to Cecil, 4th August, 264; Diurnal of Occur., 118. Those odious ruffians, after having extorted the abdication, had yet the courage to affirm that such was

"le plaisir de la Royne pour la bonne amour et entière affection qu'elle porte à la Majesté du Roy, son filz."—Articles accordés entre le Régent et la Noblesse; Teulet, II., 330. And the courtier Melville, one of the most treacherous enemies of the Queen of Scots, distorting the facts, according to his wont, merely says: "The Quenis Maiestie vtterly refused till folow ther aduys (to abdicate) therintill."—Melville's Memoirs, 189. But Mary, on the 11th March 1570, wrote to the Countess of Mar: "Et puis en conscience vous sçavez bien que ce que je fis fut par force."—Revue des Questions Historiques, III., 473. And in the month of June of the same year she speaks to the same person of her "démission forcée en prison."—Ibidem, 476.

² The three acts are inserted in Bishop Keith, 430-433, and in the Life of Queen Mary, by Samuel Jebb, 126-140.

consent, was obliged to show a deed signed by Mary ordering him to set the seal on the Lochleven papers. In reality Mary had signed only three documents, but her name had been forged to another, with the object of obtaining the seals from the keeper. Whether it was that the fraud was clear, or that the doings of the nobles were known to him, Sinclair absolutely refused; he bore the threats of the Council, and with a noble intrepidity braved Lindsay's fury. "No," said he; "as long as the Queen's Majesty is in ward, I will seal no such letters." Lindsay, incensed by such a reply, seized the seal, and, grasping Sinclair by the arm, he forced him to impress it. Like his mistress, the victim of a wild brutality, he, also, protested, and declared worthless the documents upon which they forced him to put the Queen's seal.¹

Lindsay's part was over; Lethington was going to take again the reins of affairs on a new plan, and turn them skilfully and smoothly to the profit of his party. In an interview, he uttered a tissue of lies to the English ambassador, who had until then been spurned. "My Lordes," said he to him, "have wylled me to declare unto you what yt hathe pleased the Quene my Soveraigne to conclude on for the state of thys realme, upon her owne voluntarye advyse. That is to say, fyndinge herself, both in helthe unmeete to take the care and governaunce of this realme, and also unfortunate in thadministracyon thereof, beinge verye desyrous to see her sonne the yonge Prynce settled in her seate in her lyffe tyme, hath commaunded them under her hande wrytinge to procede to the coronation of her sonne, as a thyng that she shall take mooste pleasure to see." He added, that in conformity with the Queen's wish, "they entended presentlye to goe to Stirling to the inauguracyon of the yonge Prince," and that they "desyred him at which solemnytie as the ambassador of England."²

Throckmorton had had too many dealings with the conspirators to allow himself to be taken in by them; he would not sanction by his presence acts so illegal, and refused to take part in the triumph of violence over right.³ The letters which he received from London showed him the wisdom of his conduct. His mistress could not learn without anger that leave to see Mary had been refused to her representative. When she learned that the Scottish lords were preparing to change their government without consulting her, she wrote to Throckmorton:

¹ Miss Strickland, III., 370. Thomas Sinclair's written Protest was found in 1817 by the learned John Riddell, of the Faculty of Advocates.

² Throckmorton to Eliz., July 26.—Stevenson's *Illust.* 250.

³ *Id.*, *Ibid.*, 251.

"You shall plainly declare unto them that if they shall determine anything to the deprivation of the Queen their sovereign Lady of her royal estate, we are well assured of our own determination, and we have some just and probable cause to think the like of other Princes of Christendom, that we will make ourselves a plain party against them, to the revenge of their Sovereign, for example to all posterity . . . They have no warrant nor authority by the law of God or man, and yet can find out for their purpose some examples, as we hear be seditious ballads they put in print, they would pretend ; we must justly account those examples to be unlawful, and acts of rebellion ; and so, if the stories be well weighed, the success will prove them. You shall say that this may suffice to such as do pretend to be carried in their actions by authority either of Religion or of Justice. And as to others that for particular respect look only to their own surety, it were well done, before they proceeded any further, they did well consider how to stay where they be, and to devise how to make surety of their doings already past, than to increase their peril by more dangerous doings to follow . . . You may assure them we so detest and abhor the murder committed upon our cousin their King, and mislike as much as any of them the marriage of the Queen our Sister with Bothwell. But herein we dissent from them, that we think it not unlawful nor tolerable for them, being by God's ordinance subjects, to call her, who also by God's ordinance is their superior and Prince, to answer to their accusations by way of force ; for we do not think it consonant in nature the head should be subject to the foot.¹"

That haughty language, as of a master to his servant, shows the attitude which Elizabeth would have assumed had she at any time met as many enemies as the Queen of Scots found upon her path ; but they were merely threats ; the Queen of England carried out none of them. The nobles, for a moment checked, vigorously pursued their old course, and things went on as they wished. The confederates were victorious ; the Queen's friends lost courage ; discord was among them ; personal interest outweighed public interest ; and they neglected the affairs of the kingdom to save their own, which they believed to be in danger. The Hamiltons, for instance, most zealous for their Queen still cherished the hope of releasing her and raising her party before the other had triumphed and rallied round the young King ; but that vain hope served only to lull them to sleep and play

¹ Eliz. to Throckmorton, July 27.—Bishop Keith, 429.

them false; that they felt for their Sovereign they thought enough; they vainly hoped for some one to take the lead, never dreaming they, rather than any others, had that part to play on account of their power and right to the throne; they formed plans but gave them up soon after. Weakness and coldness of heart followed, and their good intentions, not carried out, brought about graver consequences than a complete indifference would have done, for they drove the lords of the other camp hastily to crown the young Prince as James VI.

CHAPTER XII.

1567—1568.

CORONATION OF THE YOUNG PRINCE—MARY MORE CLOSELY WATCHED IN HER PRISON—MORAY LEAVES FRANCE—THE MEETING OF MARY AND MORAY AT LOCHLEVEN—MORAY'S REGENCY—PUNISHMENT OF THE ASSASSINS—EXPEDITION AGAINST BOTHWELL—HIS FLIGHT—HE IS HELD A PRISONER AT MALMÖ—HAUGHTY LANGUAGE OF LETHINGTON—MOVEMENT IN FAVOUR OF THE QUEEN—FIRST ATTEMPT AT ESCAPE—HER HARDSHIPS IN PRISON—ESCAPE—GATHERING OF THE NOBLES—BATTLE OF LANGSIDE—THE QUEEN'S FLIGHT TO ENGLAND.

THE young Prince was crowned with great pomp at Stirling. Athole carried the crown, Morton the sceptre, Glencairn the sword, and the Earl of Mar the child, whom they were going to crown King. The Queen's acts of abdication were read first, and when Lindsay and Ruthven had publicly attested that she had acted freely and "without compulcyon,"¹ Morton swore allegiance to the new Sovereign, James VI.² There was now nothing in the way of the coronation. Athole advanced a few steps and handed the crown to the Bishop of Orkney, who put it on the head of the young Prince. The nobles coming forward according to rank, swore fidelity to him; and Knox, to whom the sermon was entrusted, preached with his usual boldness on the story of Joas and Athaliah. A medal was struck bearing a sword with this saying of a Roman Emperor: "*Pro me, si merior in me*"—"For me, and if I deserve it, against me."³ There were afterwards sumptuous banquets and great rejoicings. By the light of bonfires they danced and cheered all night, the sounds of their revelry drowned at times by the roar of twenty cannons thundering at once.⁴

While the accession of the youthful Monarch was causing mad rejoicings, the Queen of Scots was pining away in her prison, and the sound of the guns from afar, no doubt added to the bitterness of her lot. By a refinement of cruelty which might have been with-

¹ Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 31st July 1567. Stevenson's Illustrations, 257.

² Anderson's Collection II., 247, and Bishop Keith, 437.

³ Birrel's Diarey, 12.

⁴ Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 31st July. Stevenson's Illustrations, 258. Dalyel's Fragments, pars. I. xii., 82.

held in her affliction, the 29th of July, the second anniversary of her marriage with Darnley, had been chosen for the King's coronation ; and while the rioters were crowning the son, the cruelly treated widow bewailed the memory of her unfortunate husband. The sorrow could not be greater, nor the contrast more striking.

She, however, consoled herself a little by thinking that after the coronation they would leave her, if not free, at least in quietness and peace. She thought her enemies would go no further, and hoped they would respect the mother of their King. Mary was not aware that ambition is never satisfied, that it fears to lose, and is always despotic and cruel. She found that out on Lindsay's return, for she was more closely watched, and her life was again threatened.¹ That barbarous severity disgusted the people ; the Queen's friends, abashed at their own weakness, met at Dunbarton for the purpose of saving her ; to do so, boldness and oneness of mind were needed : boldness was wanting. The act of association by which they bound themselves under the brand of infamy and perjury to help one another, gave them quite enough assurance to protest, but not enough to act, although the Queen of England, deceived by those whom she had at first shielded, had promised them her protection.

The rumour that Mary had abdicated of her own accord in favour of her son, at first received unhesitatingly by the majority of the Scots, was beginning to be questioned. The rebels had for a time deceived the country. It was being undeceived in spite of them, and was inclining strongly in the Queen's favour, and even threatening to turn against them. Several of the nobles believed, and stubbornly held that the Queen could not have signed of her own accord, but had yielded to threats. Those who had not been mixed up with the previous conspiracies, drew nearer to her.

While those things were going on, Moray arrived in Scotland from France, by way of England.² His arrival called forth great rejoicing, and each party looking for his help, did its best to please him. Moray, however, as was his wont, took matters quietly ; he made up his mind to curry favour with the nobles, loyal and rebellious, and thus make firm his rule. The hatred of the one party for the other helped him

¹ See in Stevenson's Illustrations various letters, 261, 263, 278, 287, 292.

² This personage had appeared at the Court of France entirely devoted to his sister. He had asked his leave giving as reason "que su

Reyna natural y señora está presa en un castillo suyo, y que quiere yr á ver en lo que puede servirla." Don Frances de Alava to Philip II., 17th July. Archives de l'Empire, Papiers de Simancas, and Teulet.

wondrously, for the one side dreading to give way to the other, chose to hand over full power to Moray alone.

Mary, on her side, looking for great things at the hands of her brother, thought herself near the end of her captivity, and hoped soon to regain her throne, or at least her freedom. Her hope was not fulfilled, and the Lochleven meeting crowned her dismay. All the hatred and cruel cunning of Moray's disposition set to work with settled forethought.

As long as the aristocratic conspiracy lasted, Moray took good care to be out of the way whenever some great blow was about to fall on the Queen,¹ and when matters were at the worst, when Mary, angry or trembling, had no longer any chance of escape, Moray came forward as her rescuer and reaped the fruit of his own doings; so he acted after the murder of Riccio and that of the King; so again, at the approach of the events which preceded the abdication.²

Scarcely had Moray reached Edinburgh when he left for Lochleven. Mary was glad to see him, and unbosomed herself to him; but he answered with severe words. Prayers, caresses and tears, he met with brutal callousness, and took advantage of his sister's grief to crush her with the most cutting words. As the lords had gained their ends, they thought he ought to treat the Queen with gentleness. "But," says Melville, "in place of consoling her, and following the good counsel which had been given him, he loaded her with insults and reproofs, and perhaps caused her the most bitter grief which she had ever felt. We, who showed him our displeasure with those proceedings, lost his good graces by it. The injuries which he offered Her Majesty were such as to cut for ever the thread of love and credit between her and him."³ The Queen listened patiently, and at the end, begged of him, as a brother, to spare her reputation and her life. "The reputation is already lost," replied the bastard

¹ "'Tis very observable that when any mischievous design of consequence was to be executed, the Earl of Murray took care to be always out of the way. By this means he stood clearer from suspicion and could manage to more advantage." Samuel Jebb. *Life of Mary*, 115.

² "La cagion del suo viaggio (in Francia), fu per due ragioni, l'una per levar a sua Maestà ogni sospetto, acciocchè, non havendo da temer di lui, cadessi piu facilmente nelle forze sue, l'altra per far credere al popolo che la crudeltà che si usava contro la Regina

non venissi da lui." *Mem. Ital.*, Prince Labanoff, VII., 320. Moray's intrigues are related in detail in the work of the Bishop of Ross, entitled: *A Defence of Queen Marie's Honour*. M'Crie who seems to have made a point of never thinking like any one else, and of writing history contrary to the authors who went before him, assures us that "the honours which Mary conferred on him were not too great for the services which he performed." M'Crie's *History of John Knox*, 308.

³ Melville's *Memoirs*, 194.

dryly, "and for your life, the Parliament must look to that." He then left her, as the night was far spent.¹

When he saw her next day, his words and bearing were no longer those of the previous day. He showed himself quite another man, and Mary, who had spent the night in anguish and terror, loaded him with caresses, addressed him by the most endearing names, and even entreated him to become Regent that he might be able to shield mother and child.² Moray, wishing to be again entreated, refused, as he delighted in her grief, and was happy to see her at his knees. He consented, nevertheless, after several refusals. On leaving, he remarked that he was but a man, and that he should in vain try to save her if she acted so as to compromise herself or if she attempted to escape.³

Easy in his mind on those points, he accepted the regency without showing either pleasure or displeasure, even feigning a dislike to assume such a responsibility, and hiding under a seeming calmness his secret happiness in having attained power.⁴ He took the oath on the 22d of August, and promised his friends to oppose opinions at variance with theirs, to aid Protestantism⁵ and to settle nothing about peace, war, the marriage or establishment of the King, or the Queen's freedom, unless by the wish of the members of Council.⁶ He was then proclaimed Regent at the cross of Edinburgh, in the name of the Queen and her son. The public mind was once more misled, and people believing the statement of Moray and his partisans, thought he had taken that office of great trust only at Mary's earnest request.

Raised by crime, Moray could maintain his position only by boldness. On the first day he acted the Regent with all the coolness of an

¹ Craufurd's *Memoirs*, 42.

² "The Quenis Majestie desyrit him effectuouslie to ressaue the office of regentrie." *Diurnal of Occur.*, 119.

³ Throckmorton to Eliz., 20th Augt. Bishop Keith, 444, sq.

⁴ "Thearle of Murreye, with great modestye, as I am informed, made a longe discourse conteyninge his insufficyentcyte and dishablytye for that charge; notwithstandinge, beinge agayne pressed by the sayd Justice Clerke in the names of the Quene and Kynge, and by the intercessyon of the lordes and other thassystauntes, he the sayd earle dyd accept yt." Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 23d Augt. *Stevenson's Illust.*, 289.

⁵ "I sall manteyne the true religioun of

Jesus Christe, the preachinge of His holye worde, and due and right mynistratioun of his sacrementes now ressavit and practyzed within this realme. And sall abolyshe and ganestand all fals religioun contrair to the same." The Oath of Regent Murray, *Stevenson's Illust.* 287.

⁶ "My said lord regent faithfully promytts that in na tyme to come, during the tyme of his charge and offyce, he sall contract with ony forreyne princes toward peace, warr, thestate of our Soverayne Lord the King, his maryage, the liberty of the Quene his mother, nor yet sall speke with her, without thadvyce of my lords of the secret Councell." The articles agreed on betwixt the Earl of Murray and the Lords of the Secret Council. *Stevenson's Illust.*, 283.

experienced ruler, lavished favours and gold, was by no means chary of falsehoods, punished his enemies, and broke in pieces the seal of the Queen, as if to show that all was over with her, and that her Queenship should be no more.¹ The conspirators gladly sided with him; people of slippery conscience and doubtful honour drew near to him for help and advancement. M. de Lignerolles, ambassador of France, seemed to be currying favour,² while the ambassador to England got a hint no longer to espouse the cause of the fallen Queen.³

Mary Stuart's cause was lost beyond hope; the rebels were victorious at every point; but the people did not forget their doings in the past, and began to murmur against them, and pray that their fall might be as swift as their rise. To keep the mind of the public active, the King's murder was again eagerly searched into. The murderers were the judges; wretched servants were put to the torture under suspicion of having had a hand in the murder. An attempt was made to wring from them something against the Queen. They were put to death; but in their dying moments they firmly asserted her innocence. Several even accused Moray, and a greater insult could not have been hurled at the man.⁴

All agreed in cursing Bothwell. His accomplices, to clear themselves, loaded him with their own crimes, and determined to hunt him down. It being matter of moment for them to hush the public tongue, and centre upon one head the curses of the rabble, a campaign was resolved upon.

Bothwell was no longer in Scotland. Since the fight at Carberry Hill his fortune had undergone a great change. A price had been set upon his head;⁵ he had fled from Dunbar, and had gone to carry riot and slaughter to the palace of his uncle, Patrick, bishop of Murray. Hunted for his crimes he gathered round him a band of brave men, and set out to scour the seas. He did so with some success, and would shortly have been in a position to come down upon Scotland, had not

¹ Chalmer's Life of Queen Mary I., 406. Diurnal of Occur., 120.

² Throckmorton's Letters. Bishop Keith, 444, 450. Diurnal of Occur., 120. Balfour's Annales, I., 242.

³ Throckmorton to Lord Herries, 24th Augt. Stevenson's Illust., 292. Eytzinger's History, MS., 49.

⁴ "There (in Denmark) Bothwell miserably ended his days, but with his last breath cleared the Queen of all consent, privity, or

knowledge of the King's death, as did also Hepborn, Paris, Daglish, and other servants of Bothwell, that were put to death by Murray for the murder, who upon the gallows charged it upon Murray and Morton, as the conspirators with Bothwell." Memoirs of the Stuarts, 159. The confessions are in the Second Volume of Anderson's Collection. Balfour's Annales, I., 343. Spottiswoode, II., 84. Chalmers, I., 426, and the Texts quoted in the Dissert. II., Part iii.

⁵ Diurnal of Occur., 116.

Gilbert Balfour followed the example of his brother, and pointed his guns against him. That desertion tended to weaken and disable the pirate for any serious undertaking; so he steered northward and made for the Shetland Isles.¹

He was thus a fugitive and was seeking a shelter when five Scottish vessels manned by four or five hundred men started after him. Bothwell had only two ships, frail in build and slow sailers, and his small crew, though brave, was not strong enough to cope with large numbers. He withdrew to Bressay Sound, and cast anchor between two islets in a place studded with reefs, and filled with currents which made it almost inaccessible, and there the crews managed to anchor. Those in pursuit were vexed at being so close to them and yet unable to seize them; but the boldest sailors dared not venture near that rugged coast in a troubled sea, whilst the most of them wished to sail away. Kirkaldy would not hear of it; with his best ship, the *Unicorn*, he ventured into the midst of the reefs, but his vessel, one of deep draught, was knocked by the currents against a rock where it split. Bothwell, clear of danger, could see and recognise his foes, and gloat over their bad fortune.

The vessel was sinking, and every hope of saving it was gone; some soldiers lowered the long boat, which was at once crowded. The Protestant Bishop of the Orkneys, who had married Bothwell, was along with them, and, fright seizing him, he jumped out on to a rock and clung to it, crying for help. Heedless of his cries they refused to pick him up, and were on the point of leaving when the imprudent bishop took a leap, and fell right into the boat which was nigh upset.² Bothwell, saved by that mishap, steered with all haste for Denmark. On his way he had an engagement, which lasted for three hours, with the Laird of Tullibardine; his main mast and his yards were carried away, and his ships were so damaged that only with great difficulty he reached the port of Karmsund in Norway.³

The strangers were hideous with their ragged clothes and fierce appearance; the wretched and dirty crew took the Norwegians by surprise. When asked who they were, Bothwell said he was the husband of Mary, Queen of Scots and, as such, governor of Scotland; and added that he and his following wished to place themselves at the service of the King of Denmark.

To speak of kingly power, nobility and the wedded love of the

¹ Throckmorton to Cecil, 26th August. Stevenson's *Illust.*, 294.

² *Memoirs of Kirkaldy*, 186, sq. *Diurnal of Occur.*, 123.

³ *Affaires du Comte de Boduel*. Bannatyne Club, 23, 24.

loveliest woman in the world, when one is clothed in rags, is enough to raise a doubt. A Danish man-of-war happened to be in the harbour, and the Norwegians went to the captain, and told him all. Questions were asked and parleys held, whereupon Captain Olborg, not knowing what to think, detained the crew till he should learn the truth. Bothwell was taken to Bergen, and brought before a commission of twenty-four officers and magistrates. He boldly defended himself; but his pride was very much humbled when they confronted him with a Norwegian lady whom he had, in days gone by, married, robbed of her all, and then forsaken. That lady was closely related to Rosencrantz, governor of the town. Bothwell, who was thoroughly in his power, dreaded justice. Until then his boldness had served him in time of need; now it might be hurtful to him. To quell resentment, Bothwell gave one of his ships to the lady whom he had robbed, and promised to settle on her a large life-rent. Those proceedings got him out of his difficulty and made him be honourably treated.

Bothwell at first denied that he had any papers, but seeing matters take a favourable turn, he caused to be brought from the hold of his ship a portfolio made safe by several locks. The Norwegians were surprised to see a large number of letters in Latin and Scotch: the royal act which created Bothwell, Duke of Orkney and Shetland, proclamations and manifestoes by the Scottish nobility, and also a letter of Mary Stuart in which that luckless Princess deplored her own fate and that of her friends.¹ From the manifestoes of the nobility, the Norwegians concluded that he was a man of little honour, and treated him with some severity while they kept him. England and Scotland, together, vainly asked for his extradition.² Bothwell asserted and held that he had been tried and acquitted by the nobles, and appealed to the King of Denmark. Frederick II. handed over to the Scots only a servant of the Earl, Nicolas Hubert, generally known under the name of Paris, and told the lords that he did not acknowledge their authority in such matters, and that if their King had been murdered, none, save his Queen, ought to seek for vengeance.³

¹ *Les affaires du Comte de Boduel*, App. ii., xxxvi., and reprint of Teulet, *Supplément au Prince Labanoff*, 147.

² Elizabeth asked several times that he should be handed over.—See *Affaires du Comte de Boduel*, app. iv.-xiii.

³ Craufurd's *Memoirs*, 45. For this reason the King of Denmark long refused Bothwell's extradition, "it was refusit be the King, be-

cause he wald not acknowledge that auctoritie." —*Affaires du Comte de Boduel*; app. i. Later the Queen's friends opposed Bothwell's return, not lest his confessions should involve them, but lest he should be put to death, and a fraudulent confession afterwards be published, as happened in the case of Paris.—Cf. M. Wiesener, 495.

To justify himself, Bothwell addressed to the King of Denmark, a statement in which he went over the long series of conspiracies of Moray, Morton and their adherents. That statement threw a light upon the situation; the plots explained the assassinations, and those murders, which had startled Scotland, no longer seemed deeds of daring, disconnected, orderless, and badly planned, but the works of a secret band, aiming at ruling the country. Bothwell also spoke of the Queen without saying or even hinting that she loved him. He added that after the wretched struggles of parties, and the imprisonment of the Queen, he was on his way to France, by Denmark, to ask assistance, and that pursued at sea by his enemies, he had been forced to make for Norway.¹ That statement did not bring about the Earl's liberty; at Malmoë he wrote out another, and tried to bribe Frederic II., by promising him Orkney and Shetland.² England and Scotland were straining every nerve to get hold of Bothwell, and Frederic dared not let him go lest he should bring on his head the wrath of the two powers.

Busied as Moray was with foreign affairs, he was not altogether careless of home affairs. The ground on which his fortune rested was shifting, and he must needs at once make fast his power, which he saw becoming daily less stable. The Scottish mind was, as usual, looking for a change, their relations with England being severely bitter. The Scottish lords had, through Lethington, addressed to Throckmorton, words which might justly be called mad and arrogant: "The Lords," the secretary had said, "never meant Harm, (God they took to witness) neither to the Queen's Person, nor to her Honour. They do not forget the manifold Benefits they have received of her, and therefore their great Affection always borne unto her, cannot be altogether extinguished; yea they be so far from meaning her Harm, that they wish she were Queen of all the World. Presently she is none otherwise to be satisfied, than a very sick Person in an extreme Disease is to be pleased in their inordinate Appetites; For," said the Lord of Lethington, "one sick of a vehement burning Fever will refuse all Things which may do him Good, and require all Things which may do him Harm; and therefore the Appetite of such a Person is not to be followed. This matter doth carry with it many Parts, some concerning the Queen's Person, some the King her son,

¹ *Les Affaires du Comte de Boduel*, passim.

² *Teulet. Supp. au Prince Labanoff*, 187 sq.

some the Realm, and some the Lords and Gentlemens sureties ; and when they shall see a Moderation of the Queen their Sovereign's Passion, they mean nothing but well unto her, and she shall have nothing but Good at their Hand. There is no way to do her so much Harm as to precipitate matters before they be ripe, or to put these Lords to a Strait ; for so against their Wills they shall be constrained to do That they would not do. It is evident they have been contented hitherto to be condemned, as it were, of all Princes, Strangers, and namely of your Majesty, being charged of grievous and infamous Titles, as to be noted Rebels, Traitors, seditious, ingrate and cruel ; all which they suffer and bear upon their Backs, because they will not justify themselves, nor proceed in anything that might touch the Queen their Sovereign's Honour. But in case they be with these Defamations, continually oppressed, or with the Force, Aid and Practices of other Princes (and namely of your Majesty), put in Danger, or to an Extremity, they shall be compelled to deal otherwise with the Queen than they intend, or than they desire. For, my Lord Ambassador," said he, "you may be sure we will not lose our Lives, have our Lands forfeited, and be reputed Rebels through the World, seeing we have the Means to justify ourselves : And if there be no Remedy but that the Queen your Sovereign will make War, and nourish War against us, we can be but sorry for it, and do the Best we may. But to put you out of Doubt, we had rather endure the Fortune thereof, and suffer the Sequel, than to put the Queen to Liberty now, in this Mood that she is in, being resolved to retain Bothwell and to fortify him, to hazard the Life of her son, to put the Realm in Peril, and to forfeit all these Noblemen. You must think, My Lord Ambassador, your Wars are not unknown to us ; you will burn our Borders, and we will do the like to yours ; and whensoever you invade us, we are sure France will aid us ; for their League standeth fast, and they are bound by their League to defend us. And as to the Practices which you have in hand, to nourish Dissention among us, we do overlook your Doings, and foresee the end well enough ; for either the Hamiltons, and such as you practice withall, will take your Silver, and laugh you to scorn, when you have done, and agree with us, (for we have in our Hands to make the Accord when we will), or else you will make them attempt some such Act, as they and their House shall repent it for ever. The Queen's Majesty, your Sovereign, hath connexed together with the Queen's Liberty, and her Restitution to her Dignity, the Preservation of the King, the Queen's Son, the Punishment of the Murder, and the Safety of these Lords. Many

things have been done, much Time spent, and strange Language used (as you have done in this your last Commission) charging us another Prince's Subjects (for we know not the Queen's Majesty to be our Sovereign), to set the Queen at liberty; but nothing hath been done by her Majesty, either for the Apprehension of Bothwell and the Murderers, for the safeguard of the King, or for the Safety of these Lords. Will the Queen, your Mistriss, arm two or three Ships to apprehend Bothwell? Pay a thousand Soldiers for a Time to reduce all the Forts of this Realm to the King's Obedience? Then we will say, doing this, that her Majesty mindeth as well these other matters spoken of, as the Queen's Liberty."¹

Moray could now speak out boldly, for the nobility drew near to him, in the hope of peace. People were weary of political strife; Mary's fall, and the troubles which followed, made all to long for quieter times. In the December sitting of Parliament, Moray saw the most of the nobles go over to his side. Then were seen strange meannesses of men. Several called down curses on their own heads, for having loved the Queen, and, with cutting words, upbraided those still faithful to her. By blaming her beyond all bounds, and treating her most harshly, they thought they could make the nation believe they had never loved her, nor sided with her; many others, timid and secret friends, noticing the hostile drift of the debates, withdrew, discreetly, lest they should be led to approve by words, acts which their hearts condemned; but some put on a bold front, and asked that Mary should be called to defend herself, before the States, and not be judged unheard. There followed a rude war of words, after which those of the former opinion won the day. Argyll, Huntly and Herries held that the decisions of Parliament could not reach the Queen's honour and dignity; that all would be null if the abdication had not been voluntary, and they would have it registered that they protested.²

A party may be victorious and powerful; but if it do not gain the affection of the people, and if it be kept from widening its circle beyond a privileged caste, it will fall, or will be gravely endangered. Moray showed himself outrageously proud. Much good for the Queen had been looked for at his hands as Regent; but none was forthcoming. Poor Mary still bemoaned her fate at Lochleven; and her pearls, the finest in

¹ Bishop Keith, 448, 449.

² Acta Parliam., III., 1-45. The Archbishop of Glasgow to the Cardinal de Lorraine, 6th February 1568. Stevenson's *Illus.*, 306.

Lord Herries to Mary, 28th June 1568, Teulet II., 386. J. Lesley's Defence of Q. Marie's Honour, 45.

the world,¹ and her jewels, the last vestiges of a past royalty, were for sale in London.² Her health was wearing out under the persecution of the nobles. They wished to rob her of both health and freedom,³ and at length by so many vexations she was made quite ill. News of that having spread, love was rekindled in more than one heart. The old form of government suddenly came into favour again, and a beginning being made, a reaction, as terrible as it was unforeseen, succeeded the defection of the Parliament. Some were led on by their love of the Queen; others, victims of a deceived ambition, rallied round the Duke of Chatelleraut, the two parties shielding one another against their common enemy; the Catholics sought liberty of conscience, and the vassals thought to find a shelter against the growing demands of the nobles, whilst all eagerly looked for the return of the Queen, and regarded her fall as a national misfortune.⁴

Those feelings drove George Douglas to seek the means of rescuing Mary Stuart. He planned with the faithful Beaton, one of the Queen's servants, that on the day on which the laundress should come to the castle, Mary should change clothes with her. On the 25th of March that woman came to Lochleven, where she remained for some time in the chamber of the Queen, who then started from her prison with a basket of linen on her arm, and soon after she was in a boat in the middle of the lake. It chanced that one of the boatmen, accosting the laundress, sportively tried to raise her veil. A white and delicate hand pushed away his, when unluckily a boatman cried out,

¹ "Was also in hir awin companye, transportit with hir Majestie in Scotland, mony costlye jewells and goldin wark, precious stanis, orient pearle, maist excellent of any that was in Europe, and mony coistlye abilyementis for hir body, with meikill silver wark of coistlye cupbordis, cowpis, plaite."—Bishop Lesley's History of Scotland, 299.

² De la Forest to the King of France, 2d May.—Prince Labanoff, VII., 129. The same to the Queen-mother, 2d May.—Teulet's Collection, II., 352. The same to the Secretary of State, de Fizes—Ibidem, II., 353.

³ "Hanno tentato più volte Sua Maestà per farle lasciar la Religion Cattolica et pigliar la sua, promettendole et assicurandola facendolo di ritornarla nel esser suo; il che Sua Maestà ha sempre negato et recusato di voler fare, dicendo chiaramente che piuttosto voleva insiem con la libertà et con la corona perder la vita, che lasciar un iota della sua Reli-

gione, nella quale consiste la salute dell'anima."—Prince Labanoff, Mem. Ital., VII., 323.

⁴ Herries' Memoirs, 100. "Il m'a esté dit," writes Bochetel de la Forest, "que le Marechal de Barwick luy (à la Reine Elizabeth) avoit escript que, pour certain, les deux tiers d'Escosse s'estoient eslevez tout en ung coup contre le Régent et ses alliez, et qu'ils luy avoient mandé que, où la Royne d'Escosse auroit le moindre mal du monde, qu'ilz s'en prendroient à luy et aux susdictz alliez; et que iceulx eslevéz demandoient premièrement deux choses, assavoir la délivrance de la Royne, et l'autre que le dict Régent et la plus part de ceulx qui luy assistoient (entendans Ledinthon et trois ou quatre aultres seigneurs) se purgeassent du meurtre du feu Roy d'Escosse."—Bochetel de la Forest to the King, 1st April 1568, Teulet, II., 345; confirmed 9th April.—Ibid., II., 346.

"That is not a washerwoman's hand!" Mary Stuart was known. Heedless of her prayers and threats, the boat was steered back; and George Douglas, to escape the anger of his fellows, fled, and left it to a young orphan to carry out his design.¹

That failure grieved Mary. The charms of liberty caught sight of, and so soon lost, more harshness and greater watchfulness on the part of her keepers, added to their insults, completely crushed her. Whither could she go for comfort? Her brother had no heart, France had forgotten her, and England held forth but words. Mary, weary of life, sank back into her wonted sadness. Her letters were again melancholy and sad.² "Alas! my soul," said she, "if God sends this for thy sins, oughtest thou not to kiss the rod that smites thee? Oughtest thou not to worship that boundless mercy which chastises thee with fleeting troubles, unwilling to make thee the object of anger kept alive by never-dying flames? And if thou art doomed to those sufferings, dost thou shrink from passing through the fiery furnace where that mighty Workman will burn away thy dross, and make thee glitter like gold? Why art thou cast down, my soul? Is it because thou art deprived of freedom and the delights of a Court? Fly, then, on the wings of thought and love beyond Lochleven, beyond the seas which girdle Britain's shores, and learn that there is no prison for a soul freed by the mercy of God, and that the whole world belongs to him who can despise it."³ Buoyed up by those thoughts, she bore patiently the burden of her prison-life. Besides, her loneliness was not so great as to keep her from getting news from the outer world. Her attempted flight had given rise to much talk; her friends had taken new courage, and hoped to see her free ere long.

On the 2d of May, in the evening, Lord Seton wended his way towards Lochleven with a small body of horse. Leaving most of them in the mountains and passes which gird the lake, he went on with some ten men as far as a neighbouring village, where he stopped. He ordered a trusty servant to lie on the grass near the lake, and watch attentively if the Queen came out of the castle. Measures had been taken, and the prisoner was about to try again to escape. That bold deed, soon to give rise to a revolution, was the work of a young lad of sixteen or seventeen, the little Douglas. He alone had

¹ Drury to Cecil, 3d April 1568.—Bishop Keith, 470.

² Mary Stuart to Elizabeth.—Prince Laban-

off, II., 67. To Catherine de Médicis.—Ibid., 69.

³ Histoire de Marie Stuart par Caussin, Jebb, II., 65.

thought over and planned the rescue of the Queen, and, alone, had undertaken to bring matters to a happy end.

The difficulty was to let the nobles know when they were to lend assistance. The despatch might fall into the hands of the traitors, and that would have been ruinous to the cause of Mary. Necessity taught the means of avoiding the misfortunes which such a discovery would surely have entailed. The Queen wrote on her handkerchief with charcoal her new plans; the handkerchief passed unnoticed, and Lord Seton was ready.¹

The watch, as has been said, was strictly kept day and night, save at meal time, when the gates were shut. The keys were then taken to the commander, and left on the table. They were stolen while the keepers were quietly dining, and the Queen, with one of her women, Jane Kennedy, let herself out of the prison. They locked the gates without noise, and threw the keys into the lake.²

They hastily unmoored the boat, and were soon half way across. Mary was greatly moved, and waved above her head her long white veil. On landing, she found John Beaton and George Douglas.

While fully enjoying the delights of freedom, she heard in the distance a shrill-sounding horn. "Those are our friends," said John Beaton; "they have noticed the signal, and are coming." That signal was a beacon which young Douglas had lighted on the top of the castle at the very moment that the Queen was leaving her room. Mary wept for joy. "Yes, yes!" said she, "I know him: it is Claud Hamilton;" and he soon came forward at the head of a numerous troop.³

In a very short time all Scotland heard of the Queen's escape. The Regent, then in Glasgow, was seized with fright, and for a long time knew not what to do. The Queen's partisans now again showed readiness to fight. The nobles joined one or other side; they would have held themselves dead to honour had they then kept aloof.⁴

With Mary Stuart's party there were feasts and rejoicings. The hope of conquering, and of at last avenging their Queen, roused the courage of her generous cavaliers. Like those highly praised women of Israel, whose words Scripture has handed down to us, Mary loudly gave thanks

¹ *Histoire de Marie Stuart par Caussin*, Jebb, II., 65.

² Despatch of the Commander Petrucci to Cosmo I.—Prince Labanoff, VII., 136, sq.

³ *Histoire de Marie Stuart par Dargaud*, 225, 226.

⁴ "Tutto quel Regno è in moto, chi per la Regina, chi contro di lei col conte di Moray." Commander Petrucci to Cosmo I.—Prince Labanoff, VII., 138.

to God.¹ Religious enthusiasm and warlike ardour roused the people. Moray proved himself equal to his task, and showed by his firmness that, having usurped power, he was able to use it. The terror among his own followers was very great; desertions were hourly taking place, and a struggle was thought nigh. Several of his council wished to leave Glasgow, an open town, and mass all their forces round about Stirling. The Regent stubbornly stood out against that proposal; to retreat, was for him, to lower himself, embolden his foes and ruin his cause.

A declaration from the Queen to the Scots, repudiating the acts wrung from her, and signed at Lochleven, scattered the followers of the Regent.*

It was necessary to put on a bold front, to determine to die rather than yield, and, above all, to show no hesitation. Troops in great numbers flocked to both sides: the Regent had four thousand men, led by chiefs whose interest it was to be victorious; the Queen's army numbered more than five thousand men.

Mary intended to retire to Dunbarton, and wait until all her forces, especially those from the North, which were most devoted to her,³ should be ready to take the field. She had no alternative but to fight, having failed to come to terms with Moray, who had thrown her messengers into prison.

Most unfortunately, from want of foresight, the Queen's plans became known. A traitor to Mary's cause told the Regent that Mary would next day make for Dunbarton.⁴ He spent the night in anxious thought, got his men together, and made ready for battle. To reach Dunbarton, the Queen must pass round the foot of Langside Hill. Moray placed his troops there at break of day. Each horseman had, seated behind him, a foot soldier, whom he set down in the hollow, amid quickset hedges, gardens and groves; then each rode up the hill again to join a body under the command of Kirkaldy of Grange.⁵

Mary set out at dawn with her forces. On reaching Langside, she was surprised to see numerous troops drawn up in line of battle. The Hamiltons who were with her, rushed with fury on the arquebusiers

¹ "We beleve it is not unknowin to you the greit mercie and kindnes yat allmythe God of His infinit gudnes hes furth the way towart ws at this tyme in ye deliverance of ws fra ye maist straitest presoun in ye quhilk we war captiv, of ye quhilk mercie and kyndnes we cannot thank Him eneulh." Queen Mary to the Laird of Adamtoun, 6th May 1568.—Col-

lection of Autographs at the Edinburgh Museum.

² Craufurd's Memoirs, 56, 57.

³ John Willock to Cecil, 22d May.—State Paper Office.

⁴ Blackwood, *Martyre de Marie Stuart*.—*Œuvres complètes*, 586.

⁵ Melville's Memoirs, 200.

stationed at the foot of the hill, and the engagement began. On both sides deeds of valour were done. Alexander Hume of the Regent's army outdid them all by his marvellous courage. Wounded in the face and leg, and covered with blood, he was knocked down and thrown into a ditch. His brother-in-law, Sir Walter Kerr of Cessford, raised him up, and he again began to fight. Despite that bravery, they had to yield. The Hamiltons fought like lions, and the passage was forced. The Queen's army was victorious; but at the village of Langside, attacked anew by fresh troops under Kirkaldy, the Hamiltons, who had borne the brunt of the battle, were crushed, and the rest of her army routed.

From a rising ground, Mary had anxiously watched the fight. At the first flush of success gained by the Hamiltons, she was overjoyed; but fear overtook her when she saw her troops in flight. So great was her terror, that, without rest or food, she did not draw bridle till she reached Dundrennan Abbey, in Galloway, sixty miles from Langside.

That battle was ruinous to Mary's cause, and her ruin was shared by the house of Hamilton; the Earls of Cassillis and Eglinton, Lords Seton and Ross, the Sheriffs of Ayr and Linlithgow, the Laird of Preston and many others were made prisoners. Few fell that day on the field of battle; but many perished in flight, and the rest betook themselves to their homes.¹

¹ *Advertissement d'Escosse* du xvj de May 1568.—Teulet, II., 365; Bishop Keith's *Divers Narratives*, 477, sq.; *Diurnal of Occur.*, 130; Birrel's *Diarey*, 15; *Memoirs of Kirkaldy*, 192-205; Tytler; M. Mignet; Miss Strickland. Historians relate in good faith, and according to perfectly authentic documents, that Moray lost

only one common soldier in the battle. It is somewhat astonishing that at the battle of Corrichie he also lost only one; according to Spottiswoode, none. I call the attention of the reader to the marvellous coincidence. If it were related by novelists, people would call it unlikely.

CHAPTER XIII.

1568—1569.

MARY GOES TO ENGLAND—PROCLAMATION OF THE REGENT—LETTER OF MARY TO ELIZABETH—ELIZABETH'S REPLY—MARY AT CARLISLE—DE MONTMORIN IN LONDON—MIDDLEMORE'S MISSION—ELIZABETH'S PRETENSIONS—HER CONVERSATION WITH LORD HERRIES—MARY STUART'S DIFFICULTIES—STRIFES IN SCOTLAND—ELIZABETH'S ARBITRATION ACCEPTED—THE YORK CONFERENCES—NAMES OF THE COMMISSIONERS—NORFOLK—MORAY'S CONDUCT—THE YORK CONFERENCES CONTINUED AT WESTMINSTER—THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND PREVAILS UPON MORAY TO ACCUSE HIS SISTER—MARY SLANDERED AT THE COURT OF SPAIN—CHARGES AGAINST MARY—HER DEFENCE—HER LETTERS TO BOTHWELL—THE FORGERY—THE CONFERENCES BROKEN OFF—ELIZABETH'S CONFESSION.

THOUGHTS of every kind flitted across Mary's mind after her defeat. She first dreamt of going to France, but it was painful to her to be an exile in a land where she had been a Queen, and she had no ship at her command ; at other times she wished to spend the rest of her life in Scotland, hoping the Scots would rally round her again, and that a victory might replace the sceptre in her hand, and make her once more a Queen, when she could wrest her son from the hands of the rebels, end her reign in peace, and leave the crown and sceptre safe for James VI. ; then, while those thoughts flashed across her mind, she remembered the assassins of her secretary and husband, and the prison in which she had bewailed her fate so long, and with the remembrance of those things she dismissed the idea with dread. She could now look to England only, but did not feel much inclined to seek refuge there. Brought up at the Court of France, she disliked the English ; the promises of Elizabeth, however, were so frank, and her invitations so gracious ; she had so often lavished upon Mary the name of "good sister" that she, at length, looking at matters seriously, saw in the Queen of England only a beloved sister.

She told those around her of her resolution. Her friends, one and all, tried to dissuade her. The Archbishop of St Andrews, on his knees, prayed her to forego her determination. Mary heeded

not those wise counsels, because her trustful nature led her to believe that Elizabeth would treat her as a Queen and sister, and not as a rival.¹ She sent by John Beaton a beautiful ring, to Elizabeth, in pledge of affection, and went aboard a fishing boat, with only a few persons. The rash Princess reached England before getting Elizabeth's answer, and by that thoughtless step placed herself in the power of her bitterest enemy.

Trouble was rife in Scotland; the minds of the people were roused, and it was needful to guide them. Had the Queen, on her return to her country, been victorious, all hearts would have rejoiced with her; unfortunately, she had lost, and, in terror, had hurriedly left the scene of action. The Regent availed himself of the state of affairs, and, the day after the Langside engagement, published a slanderous proclamation, in which the young King deplored the sad fate of his father, and the unseemly marriage of his mother. He was supposed to say: "In what state our innocent person then stood, the eternal God best knos; our father lately murdered, and our mother coupled with him that was the chief authour of that mischievous deed. But divers of our nobility, to keep us from falling into the merciless hands of them whilkis slew our father, to separate that Tyrane and godless man fra the queen our mother, and to put our person in safety, convened in the field aganis the said Earl, whence he escaped, and our said mother refusing to leave the ungodly and dishonest company of the murderer, and minassing sic as had been careful of our preservation, she was put in surety, until further deliberation. Shortly thereafter, God manifested the murder more clearly: and not only the report of divers actually present thereat, and many other things gave presumption, but *writ* declared the truth. Always the Queene, seeing how contrariously things succeeded, and how evil her subjects liked of her regiment, demitted the crown in our favours, and we were lawfully inaugurate with the crown; and our dearest cousin, James, Earl of Murray, sworne and admitted in regent unto our age of XVII. years. Which our coronation is by the acts of ane lawful, free and plain parliament, declared to be rightly done, as much as if she, the time of the said coronation, had been departed forth of this mortal life; and in the same it was found that all things done on occasion

¹ Prince Labanoff, Mem. Ital., VII., 325. The Ambassador Bochetel de la Forest wrote to the king on the 22nd May, that he con-

sidered as "suspect le traitement qui luy seroyt faict en ce royaulme." Teulet, II., 369.

of taking the queen our mother on the xv. of June last bepast, and detaining her within the fortalice of Lochlevin sensyne, and in time coming, were done to our grief and her default. . . . Yet, certain men conspired her liberty, convoyed her to Hamilton, and induced her to attempt, by force, to bereave us of our crown; but God hath granted us the victory in the preservation of our innocent person, and the room and authority wherein he hath placed us. What womanly mercy was in the person of her, that, alas, thought the shedding of Scottish blood a pleasant spectacle? What favour can men look for at her hands that stirs sedition against her only lawful son? What security can godly men expect, sche bearing regiment, by wha's occasion our maist dear father, being a portion of her own flesh, was slain!" The proclamation concluded with charging all the lieges, as they should answer to Almighty God, and under the penalties of treason, to give no aid or countenance to Mary Stuart, or to any conspirators acting under her orders, or in her favour.¹

That proclamation and the defeat of the day before had filled the minds of the Scots with painful indecision, save the Presbyterians who were inspired with new courage. They wished to profit by their victory and ruin the Queen, now reduced almost to extremity. Mary chose to fall back on England, and give herself up to Elizabeth rather than be in the power of those madmen whom an unlooked for success made still fiercer. From Workington, where she landed, she wrote to Elizabeth a letter in which she forcibly told her feelings: "You are aware," said she to her, "that subjects whom I had raised to the highest rank of honour, have attempted to lay hands on me, and on the King my husband."² God saved us from them, and we drove them from our kingdom. At your request, I pardoned them, and what gain have I reaped therefrom? that of seeing one of my servants killed by them in my-own room, and while I was *enceinte*; I escaped from them, and again granted them full pardon. My kindness did not touch them. Scarcely had they returned than they imagined, favoured, advised, and even carried out a frightful crime with which they have since dared to charge me. Holding me guilty, they waged war upon me, saying that I had been badly advised. Relying on my innocence, and desirous of sparing the blood of my subjects, I placed myself in their hands, and without speaking of reforms they threw me into prison. I appealed to them about their treatment of me; no one

¹ Lingard's History of England. Elizabeth, chap. iii.

² At Kirk of Baitb.

answered me ; I asked to be heard, but in vain. Deprived of all, having with me only two ladies, a doctor and a cook, they treated me most harshly, threatening death if I did not sign my abdication. Fear drove me to sign it ; I declared so to the nobles of Scotland, and hope to give you proof of it later. Having me in their power, they proceeded against me in open Parliament, without giving any reason. They reduced to silence all who wished to speak in my favour, and after having forced many of my subjects to approve of their usurpation, took from me all I had. I could not even protest against that violence ; they prevented me from speaking or writing, lest I should make known their dark deeds. I offered to clear myself of all charges, and to punish those who should be found guilty, yet they wished to put me to death, that they might live in safety. God disposed otherwise ; I was rescued, to the great joy of my subjects ; Moray, Morton, Hume, Glencairn, Mar and Sempill alone were vexed."

"Despite their cruelty and ingratitude, I promised them that I should secure to them their lives and estates, and hold a parliament, to settle affairs. Twice I had them asked ; they replied by confining my envoys and treating as traitors whosoever should assist me. I wished them to name the guilty whom I promised to hand over to them, and I desired them to aid me in that course, but without success. To save bloodshed, I wished to send them Lord Boyd ; they refused to give him a safe-conduct, and embittered the nobles against them. I hoped that time and your intervention might settle the quarrel, and lest I should fall into their hands, I meanwhile took the road to Dunbarton. My nobles went with me, equipped for the field. Unexpectedly attacked, they fought nobly ; but, although greater in number, they were beaten by a ruse of the enemy. Many were killed, and many taken prisoners ; the others fled. People were charged to arrest or put me to death, but thanks to God, I escaped, and took refuge with Lord Herries. With him I have entered England, persuaded that at the sight of so much woe, you will receive me, preserve my life, aid me in my just quarrel, and exhort the other princes to imitate you ; pitiable is my plight, not only for a Queen, but also for a woman ; I have nothing in the world but my life, as I rode sixty miles across country the day of the battle, and have since never dared to move but by night, as I hope to show you, if it please you to have pity on my dire misfortune."¹

¹ Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, 17th May. Anderson's Collection, IV., 29-33. Prince Labanoff, II.

Elizabeth's joy knew no bounds when she saw the Queen of Scots coming, of her own accord, to place herself in her hands. She made up her mind to mortify Mary, and gratify her long cherished revenge. Her words of sympathy came not from the heart, her tokens of friendship were so many lies, and her charity itself was infamous. Mary, in a letter had told her that she was without money and clothes, as she had not been able to take anything with her in her flight. It was the duty of Elizabeth to clothe her in a manner suitable for the Queen of Scots, and worthy of her birth. Elizabeth, glad to humble her rival while appearing to aid her, blushed not to send some of her old dresses to the wife of Francis II. Mary Stuart's delicacy was shocked. She was silent, and gave the old royal dresses to her attendants, choosing to keep her own garments, stained by the dust, rather than submit to the ignominy of wearing the cast off finery of another.¹

Elizabeth had beforehand made up her mind so to do. As early as the 6th of May, Throckmorton wrote to Marshall Berwick:—"I praise God that the Queen, our mistress, has decided on aiding the good Lord of Moray rather than that wretched woman and her allies."² Thus it was that the Queen of England, on learning Mary Stuart's arrival, could not help uttering this unfortunate sentence:—"This is the first time that I have reason to rejoice in the maxims of my policy since I became Queen."³

That, to her a pleasure, was to become for her an eternal shame. Elizabeth as a woman and a Queen had a mortal hatred of her charming rival. Her crafty minister Cecil was leagued with the Scottish conspirators, and both, through policy, were hostile to Mary Stuart. Following Cecil's advice, the Queen of England would not receive Mary until she had cleared herself before a Commission held for that purpose.⁴

From Workington, Mary was taken to Cockermouth, and thence to Carlisle, with all the honours due to her title of Queen, and placed

¹ That mean affront clearly shows the bent of the Queen of England. There is a horrible tale to be told of a later period. One of Mary's Keepers, named Rolstone, was ordered by Elizabeth to court the royal captive, and to try all means to obtain her favours, and then publish her shame. Sevelinges Hist. de Marie Stuart. Prince Labanoff, VI., 54.

² Fragments of Throckmorton's letters. Bibliothèque Imp. Fonds de St. Germain-Harlay, No. 222, tome I.

³ Vie d'Elizabeth par Gregorio Leti, I. 457. The celebrated Whitaker was of a somewhat different opinion when he said, "I blush as an Englishman to think that it was an English Queen who could do this."—Mary Queen of Scots vindicated, I. 36.

⁴ Anderson has inserted in his Collection, IV. 34-44, 99-108, the various considerations which determined the English government to detain Mary Stuart. They are from Cecil's hand.

under the care of the Sheriff and Judges of Cumberland. Her prison life was again beginning. Scarcely escaped from the hands of her rebellious subjects, she fell amongst other enemies. Those bitter woes filled to the brim her cup of sorrow: "When I was but nine days owlde," said she, "they had a reverent and obedient care of me, but nowe that I am twenty-six yeres owlde, they wolde exclude me from government, lyke disobedient rebels."¹

On the 29th of May, Lord Scrope and Sir F. Knollys, made known to her the reply of the Queen of England. They assured her that Elizabeth took a lively interest in her, but that, from the charges brought against her, she could not receive her. Mary complained of the conduct of the Queen of England, and did so with a dignity of mien and a nobility of language which astonished the English envoys. She rose superior to calumnies, asserting that the charges were but a trick of her enemies, the more easily to secure the power; if the Queen of England did not aid her, she sought leave to apply to the princes of the Continent.²

Two days after, she sent Lords Herries and Fleming to Elizabeth. Fleming had instructions for the Court of France. He was to ask assistance in men and money, and to warn the very Christian King of the secret understanding between the rebels of Scotland and France. The facts were notorious; French authority had been insulted, and M. de Beaumont, though ambassador, had got away from the Scots, only by money.³

M. de Montmorin's arrival in London set matters right. Elizabeth, by courtesy towards the new comer, strove to remove the bad feeling caused by the violence shown to M. de Beaumont. She allowed M. de Montmorin to see the Queen of Scots, and she seemed to mean well. It is easy to perceive, however, that the long conference which she had with him, apparently confidential, was really but studied language and forms of a vain attachment which could, at most, blind the foreign ambassadors.⁴

She kept her plans concealed with the greatest care. To ruin her rival by saying she was guilty of crimes of which she was

¹ Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys to Queen Elizabeth. Ellis, 1st Series, II., 244. I have put twenty-six years, instead of twenty-four as in the original, because the error seemed to me too glaring.

² Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys to

Queen Elizabeth, Anderson's Collection, IV. 54. Ellis, 1st Series, II. 238.

³ Instructions given by Mary Stuart to Lord Fleming. Prince Labanoff, II. 86-93. De la Forest to the King, 19th June. Teulet, II. 375.

⁴ De la Forest to the King, 12th June. Teulet, II. 372.

innocent ; to lecture Moray and the Scots, and thereby earn a name for justice ; to bring both sides ignominiously before her tribunal and play off the one against the other ; to give fresh life to the old and ugly quarrel about the supremacy of England over Scotland, and to overwhelm, drive to despair, and ruin all for her own gain : for such things she worked. The means which she used were many. Words of sympathy for the Queen of Scots, severe reproaches for the rebels, seeming justice and unselfishness in her actions concealed her object, and showed to the world the wisdom of the "fair Vestal throned by the West."¹

She sent to both parties a clever gentleman named Middlemore, to tell Mary Stuart that it was befitting her honour to rebut the calumnies, that Queen Elizabeth, declining to play the judge in this quarrel, wished Mary to confide in her prudence, and that all means of conciliation should be tried ; as for Moray, he was to be told somewhat harshly that he must prove the enormities which he was uttering against the Queen, his sister, and explain why he so treated her.² The orders were carried out ; every word of Elizabeth was a command ; there could be no mistake.

The Queen of England had warm words on the subject with Lord Herries. She saw Mary's envoy three times without giving him an answer, although he insisted upon having one. The question was, in truth, very difficult to decide. Lord Herries had begun by seeking to know how his sovereign was to be treated ; he knew that the Queen of England was getting Tutbury Castle repaired with the view of locking her up there, and he could not do better than enquire about it : "The Queen, my mistress," said he, "thinks it very strange that she should be taken to Tutbury, far from her country, friends and relatives. Those are not the promises which have been made to her so often : she came into England with the firm hope of being better treated, and had she thought of finding herself so situated, she had not left Scotland, come what might."

Herries had spoken those words for the ear of the Queen only ; she ordered him to repeat them in a loud and clear voice, before some of the lords of her Council. Herries at once repeated what he had

¹ On the 20th September, she wrote a very clever letter to Moray, in which, under pretence of exposing Mary's conduct she meant it to be understood that she would never replace Mary Stuart on the throne of Scotland. State Paper Office and Robertson's App. 1t

was also the conviction of Bochetel de la Forest in his letter to Catherine de Médicis 12th June. Bibliothèque Imp.—Fonds de St. Germain-Harlay, No. 222, Tome I.

² Anderson, IV. 13 sq., 66, 67, 80-94.

already said. "My resolution," replied Elizabeth, "is to replace the Queen of Scots upon the throne, either by the will of her subjects or by force; let her send some one to state her case; let Moray do likewise, and I shall then be able to settle the quarrel." "Should your Majesty," replied Lord Herries, "dream of judging the Queen of Scots? My mistress is a sovereign also." Those words, gravely said, told wondrously. Elizabeth had gone too far; the cloak of impartiality did not hide the judge. "I think," added she, to explain and remove all chance of him believing that such had been her determination, "I think that the Queen, my sister, will not regret if in this matter she follow my advice which shall be only for her greater gain." "But, Madam," replied Herries, "Moray is neither Prince nor King; consequently he cannot send ambassadors either hither or elsewhere; he has offended the Queen, his mistress, he might surely come in person and explain himself; so might the Earl of Morton, who is in a like position." "True," replied the Queen, and she dismissed Mary's delegate, with the promise that she should write next day to Scotland, as he wished.¹

In view of the coming discussion, Elizabeth would not allow Fleming to go over to France, and, not content with thwarting Mary's wishes, tried to keep Lord Herries, no doubt to make him betray his Sovereign.²

Mary Stuart fought with her despair. She bore up against all those affronts, and regained the courage she had so often shown. Her keepers spoke aloud their admiration of her. "This lady and princess," wrote Knollys, "is a notable woman; she seemeth to regard no ceremonious honor beside the acknowledging of hir Estate Royal. She sheweth a disposition to speyk moche, to be bold, to be pleasant, and to be very familiar. She sheweth a great desyre to be avenged of hir enemies. She sheweth a readiness to expone hirselffe to all perrylls in hope of victory. She desyreth motche to hear of hardyness and valiancy, commending by name all approved hardy men of hir country, althoghe they be hir enemies; and she concealeth no cowardness evin in hir frends. . . . for victoryes sake, pain and peryll seemeth pleasant unto hir, and in respect of victory, wealth and all thyngs semeth to hir contemptuous and vyle. Now, what is to be done with sotch a lady and Princes?"³ What ought to have been done, was to help her, or at least let her go free, and deny help to her enemies. The humble

¹ Bochetel de la Forest to the King, 19th June.—Teulet, II. 377.

² Elizabeth to Mary Stuart, 30th June. Prince Labanoff, VII. 143.

³ Sir F. Knollys to Cecil, 11th June 1568. Anderson, IV. 71, 72.

entreaties of the victim in whose person royalty was outraged, made it Elizabeth's bounden duty to send aid. Her interest clashed with her dignity. Mary, getting no answer, knew not what language to use. New entreaties, if disdained, she thought degrading to her, and empty threats of no avail. She, however, found words to re-echo her sad fate. "Alas! madam," wrote she to her, "have you ever known a Prince to be blamed for listening to those who appealed to him against false charges? Do not for a moment think, madam, that I have come hither to save my life; the world and broad Scotland have not all disowned me. It is to recover my honour, and get strength to punish my slanderers, not to answer them as my equals. To keep me here a prisoner," added she, "is to encourage my enemies, and weary out my friends. I have on my side all men of honour; delay may cool them or make them change."¹

That letter, as well as several others which she afterwards wrote, made no impression on Elizabeth. Middlemore encouraged the Scottish rebels.² Moray was crushing the Queen's party, and news of the events reaching Mary's ears again and again, grieved her much. Calumny followed hard upon calumny, and the kindest hearts in Scotland, shaken by the boldness of falsehood, knew not how to act. It is interesting to notice what Mary, in those moments of affliction, wrote to the Cardinal de Lorraine. "God tries me sorely," said she, "but be assured, I will die a catholic. God will soon take me away from all my miseries. For I have suffered affronts, slander, imprisonment, cold, hunger and heat; I have fled, knowing not whither, ninety miles across fields, without dismounting; then I have slept upon the bare ground, have drunk sour milk, eaten unbaked oatmeal, and spent three nights like the screech-owls, without a creature near me, in this country, where I am treated little better than a prisoner; and meanwhile they destroy the houses of my servants,³ and I cannot help them, and they hang the masters, and I cannot aid them; yet all remain constant towards me, and abhor those cruel traitors who have but three thousand men under their command, and if I had help, one half would assuredly leave them. I pray God that He may remedy it; His will be done."⁴

¹ Mary to Elizabeth, 13th June. Prince Labanoff, II. 96 sq.

² Elizabeth, with her usual veracity, wrote to Mary, "Quant à Middelmore, je vous jure qu'eulx-mesmes m'ont escript que, si ne l'eusse envoyé, il eust esté pris pour vostre partie."

Elizabeth to Mary, 30th June 1568. Prince Labanoff, VII. 142.

³ After the battle of Langside, Moray caused the houses of Mary's principal partisans to be set on fire or razed to the ground.

⁴ Mary Stuart to Cardinal de Lorraine, 21st June. Prince Labanoff, II. 115 sq.

Affairs were becoming more grave; Elizabeth's policy was beginning to be known,¹ and she, who had gone too far, wished to turn back. Herries seconded his mistress with all his might,² but, say what he would, his words failed before Elizabeth's cold obstinacy. When she felt hard pressed, and when the arguments of Mary's advocate seemed weighty, she flung out taunting accusations, and entrenched herself behind them as behind an impregnable rampart. She thought she had done her worst by raking up those things. Time was running on, and Mary was still a prisoner.

Amid the change from consultations to councils, Mary thought she might further the views of her party by giving it a head. On the 12th of July she appointed the Duke of Chatelleraut, Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and ordered her faithful subjects to rally round him. At the bidding of their Queen, Huntly and Argyll, notwithstanding their old rivalry, were among the first to join the Hamiltons. All those of Mary's party were up at the same time, ready to fight. At the outset of the campaign, they asked Elizabeth to set Mary free, and complained of the evils which arose from her absence.³ Without further waiting, they immediately took the offensive, and wrested several rich provinces from the Regent. Success drew to their banner, first the Catholics, and then the malcontents, whom fear had kept aloof. In a few days the people of the western counties and Moray's partisans in the north were beaten. Hamilton was retaken, and the royal army, victorious, marched southwards, to crush the Regent before he assembled his parliament. God knows what would have happened then, had not Elizabeth, true to her nature, used deceit to save her *protégé*. In a letter she asked Mary Stuart to order her adherents to lay down their arms, pledging her word to ask the same of the Regent, that a peaceful and lasting understanding might be brought about. The too trusting Mary obeyed at once, and sent the lords orders to disarm.⁴ Moray, whose movements were now free, fell upon those broken bands, utterly scattered them, and shewed himself the fiercer, the nearer he had been to ruin. He with much noise got together a parliament, and had up before it, charged with high treason, those who had joined Mary's cause. The whole of the month of August was spent in acts of recrimination and violence from

¹ Mary to Elizabeth, 22d June. Prince Labanoff, II., 119.

² Lord Herries to Mary Stuart, 28th June 1568. Teulet, II., 384.

³ A letter from some of the nobility in Scotland. Anderson, IV., 120-124.

⁴ Mary to Elizabeth, 13th August. Prince Labanoff, II., 150.

one to the other. Elizabeth stopped Moray only when the Queen's lords were powerless.¹

That infamous war was followed by still more infamous negotiations, which caused Elizabeth's first deceit to be forgotten. After much hesitation, Mary and the Regent of Scotland agreed to place their quarrel in the hands of Elizabeth. Commissioners had been appointed on both sides, and the famous York Conferences were about to begin.

John Lesley (bishop of Ross), Lords Herries and Boyd, Livingston, John Gordon and James Cockburn, were for the Queen. The Regent came in person, with Lethington, Morton, the Protestant Bishop of Orkney, Lindsay, Robert Pitcairn, [commendator-abbot of Dunfermline], Balnave, George Buchanan and Macgill, the Clerk of Register.² The Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, were the commissioners of the Queen of England. With the exception of Norfolk, the English commissioners were politically hostile to the Queen of Scotland; Sadler had even spoken regarding the necessity of opposing her restoration to the throne.³

Intrigues bound the Regent to the English ministers. For a long time Cecil had laid the train of base plans which was about to unfold itself. Only one man of those employed by the Queen of England tried to outwit the minister; it was the Duke of Norfolk, a great lord, not without ambition, upheld by the respect of Protestants and Catholics, very influential in London and the Provinces, and a friend of Elizabeth.

On the first day of the Conferences, the Duke refused to enter on the debates if the Regent, as representing James VI., King of Scotland, did not, in the first place, pay homage to Elizabeth. The Regent, taken unawares, knew not what to answer, and was confused. He thought it as dangerous to pay that homage as to refuse it. By paying it, he acknowledged the supremacy of England, and offended the national pride of the Scots, making deadly enemies for himself in his own country, and in the very bosom of his party. By denying it, he made an enemy of Queen Elizabeth, and risked his cause. Lethington, more

¹ Various letters of Mary Stuart. Prince Labanoff, II., 156-165, 177-180.

² M. Gauthier remarks most suitably that "Morton and Lethington were notoriously known to be two of the principal authors of the regicide of which they were about to accuse Mary; the Bishop of Orkney, the only minister who had consented to perform the marriage with which he was about to reproach

her; Lindsay, Pitcairn, Mackill, and Balnave, the four judges who had pronounced in favour of Bothwell the sentence of absolution which they thought of imputing to her." M. Gauthier, *Histoire de Marie Stuart*, II., 209.

³ Opinion in Privy Council respecting the Restoration of Queen Mary to the throne of Scotland. Sadler's Papers, II., 562-569.

crafty, spoke for him. He cautiously answered the Duke, that when they should restore to the Scots the lands for which they had formerly paid homage to England, it should again be paid; but that otherwise the proposal was absurd.¹

That first question having been set aside, the parties entered fully upon the matter: Mary's commissioners to avenge the honour of their Queen; the Regent to make good the charge, and show reason for his revolt. The Scots were much astonished at the slowness of the English commissioners. The latter seemed to fear inquiries and judicial proceedings. Norfolk sought only to gain time; every one noticed it, but the reason for such strange conduct was unknown.

At length he addressed Lethington thus: "Until then, I had taken you for a man of sense; but when I hear you accuse your own Queen, I know not what to think. Are there, or are there not, in England, persons able to judge the cause of Scotland's Queen? and can we resolve to dishonour the mother of a Prince who is one day to be our King? How could we excuse our conduct if we were to make his titles and rights doubtful, by attacking the honour of his mother? You who are her subjects would have done much better to hide her weak points, if she has any, and leave to God, who alone is the Judge of Kings, to correct or punish them."²

Lethington tried to justify himself by throwing the blame upon the Regent's followers, and hinted to the Duke how much better it would be for both parties to settle the matter without noising it abroad. That was covering his defeat admirably; but the reproach of the Duke of Norfolk was still there to rankle.

Thanks to Lethington, the Regent and the Duke met the same night in the house of the latter. Moray heard cruel truths. Norfolk revealed to him the crafty policy of Elizabeth, who had no desire to choose a successor for herself, and showed him that the Queen of Scots was sole heiress to the throne of England; then asked him: "What are you thinking about, to come here and accuse your own Queen? Though she had done wrong, or suffered wrong to be done to her husband, the matter ought not to have been allowed to do wrong to the King her son, in whom England's hopes are centred. I am here to listen to what you have to say against your Queen; but neither my mistress nor I shall ever give a decision in this affair; and if you wish to be convinced of it, you have only to exact a written promise to that

¹ Melville's Memoirs, 206.

² Melville's Memoirs, 206.

effect from Elizabeth. No," he went on, "you cannot have thought of the step you are taking; remember that your enemies the Hamiltons are, after the Queen, the nearest heirs to the crown."¹

The Regent was amazed; he fancied that he had only to bring the Queen into discredit to secure power for himself, and the contrary seemed likely to happen. While wishing to ruin her, he was on the eve of falling himself, and the Hamiltons would quietly reap the fruit of all his toil. There was but one course to follow: to burn the documents against the Queen. But the stupid hastiness of the Regent in charging Mary, hindered him from doing so: the letters had been put forward; they had justified the revolt; and they were now the mainstay of the Regency. There was no use in destroying them, as they were already known; but a sight of them could be refused by Moray under some pretext. With that resolve in view, and guiding himself by Norfolk's words, he refused to hand them over, if the Queen of England did not give him, in writing, a promise to settle the dispute. He stood by his resolution at the second conference. That point-blank refusal kept back the case; they could not go on. Elizabeth was written to on the subject; but it was a mere waste of time. She was offended by the letter, and sent for answer that "as the Queen of England never broke her word, it was an insult to seek from her a written promise."²

That stinging reply brought Moray and Norfolk closer, and the two men sought to end the dispute each in his own way. Everything leads one to believe that Moray, this time, acted frankly, and that in wishing his sister to ratify the Lochleven acts, he had no other object in view than to save himself, in the first place, and then the Queen, whom, in his inner mind, he destined for the Duke of Norfolk. He would not that the world should look upon him as a forger and a usurper. That grand project was baffled by Elizabeth's skill. She was daily informed of what was going on by the prudent Knollys and Cecil, whose anxious and mistrustful natures invented conspiracies, rather than there should be none to notice. Their help was very useful to Elizabeth in difficult cases where clear-headedness was needed. But when those crafty men, used to intrigue, left their own crooked line of policy, and found themselves face to face with truth, their natures could only wonder at a virtue they did not possess, and they vainly strove to find in the bosom of truth the thread of falsehood. Thrown off their track, their reports savoured of untruth. Nowhere did their love of cunning show so strongly as at

¹ Melville's *Memoirs*, 208. Part of a letter from the Earl of Moray.—Robertson, *App.* xxx.

² Melville's *Memoirs*, 209

the outset of the York Conferences. The project of Norfolk and Moray was soon found out; and yet that same Knollys, whose clear-sightedness had just gained so grand a triumph, was so led astray by a conversation which he had with Mary Stuart, that he gave it quite another meaning in reporting it to Elizabeth.

Mary was vexed, and complained bitterly. "Madam," she wrote to Elizabeth, "I assure you that if you had heard my conversation with Knollys, you could not have mistaken it as you have. I defy the world to say that I have offended you in deed or in word since I came into your country. I have lived according to your laws, without causing anyone to break them. I am sure that Knollys himself will never assert on his honour that I have said a word against you." That letter calmed, but did not reassure, Elizabeth. Judging others by herself, she was naturally mistrustful, and the strongest proofs did not put an end to her suspicions. With marked favour she listened to stories, without inquiring as to their truth; and her neglect to search into matters often gave her false ideas of persons. It is but right to say, however, that in reference to Norfolk and Moray her suspicions were well founded. Their doings were too open to escape the notice of the keen-sighted ministers; and the Regent was boldly accused of cowardice by his party.

Mary Stuart's commissioners had gone straight to the root of the question, and demanded satisfaction for the violence done her. They crushed Moray and his party under their just reproaches;² and the Regent, ignorant of the line of defence to be taken, dared not openly attack his sister.

If ever there was a time for wavering, it was certainly not then. The Regent, by his cozening, had all to fear: Elizabeth's enmity, the falling away of his friends, and the loss of his power. He needs must bring to light the writings said to be from the Queen's hand. If real, the charge was unanswerable, and Mary's commissioners would have to confess themselves beaten. Why did not Moray do so? The reason is clear: he knew better than anyone the value of those fictions; they were important if only spoken of, and not seen; the mystery which wrapped them up formed, so to say, their spell. If he showed them, Mary's envoys would not have missed the chance to bring forward genuine specimens of her penmanship against him and his nobles.³ He

¹ Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, 8th October 1568.—Prince Labanoff, II., 216.

² Lord Herries had said in his speech: "That it was not the punishment of that slaughter that moved them to this powde

rebellion, but the usurping of their Sovereignes' supreme auctorytie." A discourse of Lord Herries, Sadler's Papers, II., 336.

³ Correspondance diplomatique de la Mothe Fénelon, I., 19.

no doubt then wished he had never spoken of those unlucky letters ; but it was too late, and further shifts only served to make Elizabeth more suspicious of him.

The Queen of England, to have at hand, or rather under her eye, the judges and accused, ordered, on the 24th of October, that the Conferences should go on in London before her Council. That was no chance decision ; it was necessary after the understanding growing up between the Regent and Norfolk. When Elizabeth saw the Duke again, she received him somewhat coldly, and spoke of the rumours current about his marriage with the Queen of Scots. The Duke showed great presence of mind in his reply. Taking advantage of the charges made against Mary, "I love," said he, "to slepe uppon a saft pillow,"¹ and urged his never-dying love for his rightful Sovereign.

Elizabeth, whether convinced or not of those things, hastened the proceedings by setting the accusers and the accused by the ears, and she did so with wonderful boldness. She promised Mary's commissioners to replace their mistress immediately, and sent word to Moray that if he did not go on with the accusation against Mary, his honour and reputation were ruined. Those severe orders made Moray follow a course very unpleasant to him. Until then he had shown a bold front ; but feeling that all was failing him, he made up his mind to sacrifice everything. He slandered, because he had to do so. He had gone too far to draw back ; he did so not from choice ; and if he afterwards showed a certain tameness in his accusation, it was because the plan of the inquiry did not seem to him the right one.

The Queen of Scots also added to the difficulties. From the castle in which she was kept she attentively watched the debates which were to settle her lot : seeing the change in the proceedings, and knowing that at such a distance she could not consult with her commissioners, she threatened to break off the Conferences if they should proceed on any other bases than those already agreed upon. She spoke out strongly against the underhand-dealings of her enemies, refused to have Elizabeth's commissioners as judges, forbade any accusation against her rebellious subjects to be laid before the commissioners, or any reply to be given to the charges which might be made against her.²

Though those instructions may seem severe, yet the captive did not overstep her rights. Elizabeth openly inclined towards Moray, whom

¹ Extract out of the trew first copy of the Bishop of Rosse's letters.—Murdin, 179.

² The commission sent for the Quene's Majesty of Scotland.—Prince Labanoff, II. 229-231.

she admitted into her presence contrary to her pledged word. She hoped thenceforth to get rid of the reserve at first imposed upon herself, and believed herself strong enough to brave justice and public opinion. Those ridiculous proceedings clearly showed interested motives which began to be spoken of somewhat harshly, and Mary, driven to it by Elizabeth, had to break off Conferences so glaringly unfair. She had often asked to see her rival; and that favour which she had vainly sought for herself had been speedily granted to her subjects.¹

A great grief made her forget that unworthy treatment and her mental troubles: the death of the daughter of Henry II. of France, Elizabeth, whom she dearly loved, grieved her, and the belief at the Court of Spain, that she was herself careless about her religion, wounded her feelings. Mary felt bitterly that blow so painful to her heart, and the other so hurtful to her good fame. In glowing language she deplored the death of her good sister, and flung back the calumny with contempt. "In the midst of my adversities," she wrote to Philip II., "I have received two bits of news at once, by which it appears that ill fortune is doing its utmost to crush me. The one announces the death of the Queen, your wife, my good sister, whose soul may it please God to keep! the other tells me you are informed that I am inconstant in matters of religion, and that, to my misfortune, you sometimes doubt if I have any. Those two bits of news so sting me to the quick, that although the former may leave some hope of comfort and remedy, I see none in the latter. I know not which of the two grieves me most. . . . No, Prince, I never could have dreamt that persons of the same religion with me could have been glad to heap base slanders on my head. Whoever may have done me so great a wrong I entreat you not to believe it, seeing that there must be a mistake. . . . None has ever heard me say a word, or seen me do anything which could give reason for so bad an opinion of me." She then enlarged upon her persecutions through her religion, being obliged to listen to the ministrations of an Anglican minister: "If it has been found," added she, "that I did wrong by taking part in

¹ "La quale (Elizabeth) contro la promessa, non solo lo admesse al suo conspetto insieme con li altri principali ribelli, ma fu a stretto ragionamento con loro, et dichiarò di volerli havere in protectione, et promesse di legittimare esso bastardo perchè potesse succedere nel regno al figlio della Regina; essi promessero a lei di dargli in mano il detto figlio et le principali fortezze del regno; et accordarono

di fare una lega perpetua fra quei duoi regni. Fatto questo, acciò non restassi ostacolo alcuno à loro disegni, risolverono che fussi necessario fare morire la Regina di Scotia; et per poterlo fare con qualche colore di guistitia, ordinarono che li detti ribelli l'accusassino della morte del marito.— Prince Labanoff, *Mem. Ital.*, VII., 146.

those prayers, at which I was present, because I was not allowed the exercise of my own religion, I am ready to make the necessary honourable amends, so that all the Catholic Princes in the world may know that I am an obedient, submissive and devoted daughter of the holy Roman Catholic Church, in whose faith I will live and die.”¹

Mary Stuart often declares her firm resolve to live and die in her religion,² and from that earnest and steady resolve, she drew the strength to bear her misfortunes. Although partially forsaken by her followers, and betrayed by those in whom she had put her trust, although she had to refute charges most lying and most dishonouring for a woman, yet she always showed that calm dignity, that settled disposition and self-respect which overawed her enemies till the last. She knew better than any one the odiousness of their proceedings; but because they debased themselves, Mary thought that was no reason why she should imitate them, or demean herself by replying to them. She had naturally too noble a heart, and was too magnanimous to forget herself so far. When she felt that she was on the point of breaking down under the harrowing feelings with which fate overwhelmed her, she would find consolation in prayer. “Since the will of God,” she wrote one day, “has been to rain afflictions on my bare head, there remains for me only to entreat Him to grant me the patience to be able to endure them.”³

The York Conferences were resumed in London with a bitterness of tone and an unbridled falsehood which nothing could excuse.⁴ The debates began with a strange scene which clearly shows what point had been reached. Moray brought forward the same charges without departing from the beaten track to which he had confined himself. Cecil, weary of those speeches which were mere wordy repetitions, asked him if he had the proofs in his possession. “Here they are,” said John Wood, the Regent’s secretary; “but I will not hand them over until Queen Elizabeth’s promise be given me in writing.” “Well,” cried the Protestant Bishop of Orkney, “I shall give them.” Saying those words he rushed towards Wood, snatched the papers out of his hands and

¹ Mary Stuart to Philip II., King of Spain, 30th November 1568.—Prince Labanoff, II., 237-241.

² Various letters of Mary Stuart to Don Guzman de Silva, to Philip II., to Don Guérán de Espes.—Teulet, Supp. au Prince Labanoff, 266, 289, 291, 300.

³ Mary Stuart to Don Frances d’Alava

30th Nov. 1568.—Prince Labanoff, II., 343.

⁴ En quoy ne fault doubter qu’on n’essaye de toucher, s’il est possible, à la réputation et à l’estat, et possible, à la vie de cette princesse. . . . Il me semble que les argumanz qu’ilz veulent prendre sont assez légers, et bien fort impertinans.—Correspondance diplomatique de la Mothe Fénelon, I., 23.

ran with them to the table of the English commissioners. Wood, for a moment taken aback, set off in pursuit of the Bishop and held on by his clothes, but he was too late, and the documents were handed in amid roars of laughter. "Weill done, Bishop Turpy," cried Chamberlain Howard, "thou art the frackest felow amang them; none of them all will mak thy loup gud." Those words, as Melville remarks, bore an allusion to the prodigious leap taken by the worthy Bishop in the pursuit of Bothwell. The baffled Regent begged back the papers, promising to add new matter to them. He was told, that if he wished to add anything he might do so, but they should not be again in his keeping.¹

There was no loop-hole of escape for him this time; come what might, he must stand by the charge. Moray was foolish enough to do so. He first stated that Mary had instigated the murder of Darnley, and then that she had married the murderer of her husband.² Lennox supported the Regent in a speech of pathetic eloquence, charging the Queen with his son's death, and, all through, spoke as a religious and sorrowing man.³

Mary's commissioners spoke two days later. The answer was sharp. "We are hartely sory, My Lordes," said they, "to hear that our countrymen shuld intend to colour their most unjust, ingrate and shamefull doings against thair natural Soveraigne leige Ladie and Mistress, that hath ben so beneficiall to them and thus wise recompensed with calumnious and false invented brutes, sklandered in so great a matter till hir reproche wherof they themselves that now pretend herewith to excuse their open treasons were the first inventers, writers with their own handes of that devilish band, the conspiracy of the slaughter of that innocent young gentleman, Henry Stewart, late spouse till our Soveraigne, and presented to their wicked confederate, James, Earl Bothwell, as was made manifest before ten thousand people at the execution of certen principall offenders in Edinburgh. Bot seing thai can get no other excuse to this their treasonable usurpation, and Wrongs, yea such usurpation and Wrongs as never have been seen the like, subjects to have done before; for the first and best of them hath not in Parliament the first voyce of Eightene of that Realme. No, no, my Lords, this is not the cause why they have put their handis in thair Soveraign the annointed of God, most often

¹ Melville's *Memoirs*, 211; Miss Strickland, IV. 266.

² See the *Book of Articles*, published by Mr Hosack at the end of his work on Mary Stuart.

³ The *Journal*, or Third Session, printed in Anderson's collection, IV., ii., 121; Goodall, II., 208.

by his word expresly prohibited, (a matter to other princes recht dangerous, and worthie to be forseen) for if this in thame be tollerat, what prince lives upon the face of the yerth that ambitious subjectis may not invent some sklander in thair living, to come to thair supreme authority?" They then enlarged on the crime of usurpation in the face of laws human and divine, and spoke out boldly against the machiavelian doctrine¹ which had been so cruelly applied. In their opinion, the youth of the royal child, who could not for a long while be skilful or strong enough to contend with the confederates, had been an encouragement to them, as well as the large sums which Moray had to lavish to keep them on his side. Those facts and their consequences were now known to the kings of France and Spain, and to several other Christian Princes. The lawful Sovereign of the kingdom of Scotland could not and would not be judged on that subject; she was a Princess, independent as her ancestors had always been, and she came to England for aid and protection.²

Elizabeth admitted Mary's commissioners to her presence, where they were allowed to explain themselves in writing. They called to mind the promises she had made, which were now seemingly forgotten; they complained that charges so false had been listened to and encouraged, and demanded, meantime, the arrest of the calumniators.³ Elizabeth, by cunning and empty promises, managed to get rid of the Queen's defenders; and, by so doing, greatly furthered her own ends. Each party, full of fear, awaited from her the decision which would ruin the other side, and sought to gain her favour by flattery. That course was followed more closely by Moray and his party than by the other; they showed no arrogance south of the Border, but were as weak and cowardly in England as they had been overbearing at home. Moray,

¹ "They had herein advised with thair Machavellis Doctrine." A memorial, or letter, from the commissioners of the Queen of Scotland, printed in Anderson's Collection, IV., ii., 131.

² A memorial, etc., Anderson, IV., ii., 129-133; Sadler's Papers, II., 334.

³ "A ceste cause, ont présenté . . . que la dicte Royne d'Angleterre, pour le debvoir de sa royale grandeur envers celle de la Royne d'Escosse, qui estoit de semblable qualité et sa proche parante, voulût fère arrester prisonniers les dictz adversaires, comme crimineulx de lèze majesté, pour avoir trop dict, et trop escript,

et trop prononcé de mal contre leur souverayne."—Correspondance diplomatique de la Mothe Fénelon, I., 39. Elizabeth did exactly the contrary of what she was asked, for she signified to the judges that they were not to proceed against Moray and his party. "Havendo quello della parte dé rebelli dato principio a dire le sue ragioni et quello che volevano contro alla Regina, parve alli mandati della Regina d'Inghilterra, che non dicesero cosa rilevante; nè volendo giudicare contro di loro, perche così havevano in mandalis, dissero che gli bisognava etc.," Mem. Ital.—Prince Labanoff, VII., 145.

who had much at stake, was ruled rather by the influence of the Queen of England than by care for his own dignity.

Elizabeth, meanwhile, played her part, and was seemingly more mediatress than judge. To Mary, she said, that a Queen so insolently treated could not resume friendly relations with her enemies, and that only an open trial, ending in a full acquittal, could put the seal of silence on the people, by showing the falseness of the charges; to Moray, that he was bound to prove all he had advanced, or be punished as a slanderer and a rebel.¹ In this way she fostered the quarrel and rekindled discord between the two sides. Moray prepared to obey, and Mary's commissioners, indignant at such proceedings, declared the Conference ended. Before departing, they protested, in writing, against what might be afterwards done to the prejudice of their Mistress, and although that protest was not received, they withdrew.

This may perhaps be the right time to tell of those famous documents, to show their origin and the value which ought to be attached to them. It shall be done in a few words. They are twenty in number: eight letters and twelve sonnets, said to be written by Mary to Bothwell. A little reflection reveals all their weakness. According to the historians hostile to Mary Stuart, Bothwell, after her imprisonment, sent one of his servants, named Dalgleish, to Sir James Balfour, keeper of the castle, for a casket holding letters written to him at various times by Mary Stuart. Sir James Balfour handed over the casket; but, at the same time, warned the nobles that it might be for their good to have the bearer arrested. The story is most improbable, for, at that period, Balfour had gone over to the side of the Scottish lords, and, through his hatred for Bothwell, tried to make them forget that he had been his friend. It cannot therefore have entered the mind of Bothwell to claim from such a man, letters so compromising, seeing that asking for them was the surest means of bringing them out of the obscurity in which they might perhaps have remained; and Balfour, on the other hand, would not have given them up if found. Dalgleish, too, the supposed bearer, was hanged as an accomplice in the King's murder, without one word being said about the papers in his examination; his confessions, however, would have crushed the guilty. Elizabeth wanted to see the poor valet, Nicholas Hubert, so-called Paris, because the calumniators asserted that he had served as go-between to Bothwell and

¹ M. Mignet. *Histoire de Marie Stuart*, II., 47, 48.

Mary; but Moray had him hanged, without trial or judgment, on the very day that Elizabeth was most anxious to see him. When the two factions, previous to the York Conferences, were abusing each other in Scotland, the Queen's enemies put forward a thousand untruths to bring her into discredit. Why did they not put in the letters to Bothwell, which would have secured for them a signal triumph? To Elizabeth and her commissioners they showed only a translation in Scotch of those letters; where then were the originals? If they existed, why turn them into Scotch for the use of Elizabeth, who always wrote in French to Mary Stuart?

Those assuredly are reflections the importance of which every one must see. In so grave an accusation, it is of no use to bring forward writings, unless they are autographs of the person to whom they are attributed. Now, in the case of the Queen of Scots, the writings are of doubtful origin, and the judges saw only the translation of them. The autographs were shown only to a few, if any one ever did see them. It is almost needless to add that those mysterious documents are full of anachronisms and other blunders, which, apart from the doubtfulness of their origin, make them quite indefensible.¹

In spite of the difficulty of persuading people that such letters were authentic, Moray produced them, lest the accusation should fall back upon him. On the 14th of December they were looked into and compared, when a report was circulated that they were really Mary Stuart's, although the English commissioners remained undecided, which was almost equivalent to a disbelief.² It might, nevertheless, have been believed, and public opinion, led astray by so bold a statement, might perhaps have turned against the Queen of Scots, had not the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Sussex and Pembroke, Lord Clinton and Lethington himself, one and all espoused the prisoner's cause.³

Mary's commissioners, unable to stay the proceedings, accepted the contest, and Elizabeth, with all her skill, nearly failed in the face of the boldness of their declarations. The Bishop of Ross and Lord Boyd had long sought to hush those scandalous debates. They had again asked that their mistress should be allowed to justify herself at the

¹ I beg the reader who may be anxious to become edified regarding the value of those documents, to read Paragraph iii., No. 1, of Dissertation II.

² In their despatch to Elizabeth, they said "that there was no other proof of their being

Queen Mary's own handwriting, but that her enemies said so." Th. Robertson's *History of Queen Mary*, 115, which was never contradicted.

³ Miss Strickland, *History of Queen Mary*, VI. 313.

court ; but the Queen of England, as was her wont, fell back on a point of honour, and proposed impracticable means of defence. She wished Mary to justify her conduct by her commissioners at Westminster, by a person of trust, or in presence of a gentleman who should be sent to her at Bolton ; and to induce her to do so, she wrote to her in a plaintive style, a letter, the mildness of expression in which did not hide the scoffing thought which had suggested it.¹

Elizabeth evidently wanted but one thing : to place Mary at the bar, and then mock her at will. Mary suspected her treachery, and, in place of denying the charges, openly attacked Moray and his followers. She gave a formal denial to the calumniators, defied them to produce the letters said to be in her handwriting, and flung back upon themselves the accusation they had dared to bring against her. They accused her of having known beforehand of Darnley's murder, though all of them had plotted it—several even having been the direct authors of it ; they reproached her with having married her husband's murderer, though they had by writing handed her over to Bothwell ; in short, they asserted that Mary was seeking the death of her son, though that son was under the care of the safest man in all Scotland.²

The affair of Mary Stuart's marriage with Bothwell was treated with logic and vivacity. "It is," said Mary's commissioners, "the most painful of all the accusations ; for these words, 'she has married the murderer of her husband,' simply spoken, produce so violent an impression on the heart of those who hear them while ignorant of the affair, that they do not leave the shadow of a doubt that she consented to the death of her husband. . . . But if those who now blame this marriage have been the promoters of it—if they have forced the will of Her Majesty to condescend to it—if by strong reasonings they have induced her, if by threats they have forced her to contract it—on what grounds do they now wish to try her for a crime of which they themselves are the authors ? How can they condemn her for a fault which they have advised ? It seems as if we saw before us the old men who accused Susanna. . . . There, read ; those are the letters which Moray wrote on his departure for France. And you, Messieurs the accusers, recognize your writing, recognize your signatures !" Saying those words, they produced letters from Moray and some of his accom-

¹ It is to be found in Anderson's Collection, IV. ii. 183, 184.

² *Correspondance diplomatique de la Mothe Fénelon*, I. 92. Extract of the principal

Heidis, &c., Bishop Keith, app. 147. Mary Stuart to her commissioners, 19th December : Prince Labanoff, II. 257. Th. Robertson, 126, 127.

plices, in which they not only advised Mary to take Bothwell for her husband, but also threatened her with many great annoyances if she refused. They at the same time brought forward the bond of Ainslie, signed by a great number of nobles, which bond proved so fatal to the Queen. "You cannot deny," continued they, "that you have signed those letters; you cannot disown your seals affixed to this contract. We wish that it might please you to own at the same time the fine praises of Bothwell which you sounded every day to Her Majesty, and the frights and intimidations which you made use of towards her if she did not marry him. She had placed him in your hands, so that justice might be done him: you have declared him innocent, you have saved him from the punishment which he deserved, and you have forced the Queen to marry him. And you, unworthy Bishop of Orkney, are you not ashamed to show yourself in such company? Did not you perform that marriage, in the face of the Holy Church? Did not you unite them? Did not you give them the nuptial blessing? Your duty as a bishop was to refuse to celebrate such an alliance. You ought to have done then, what you are doing now; you would have saved the honour of your mistress and the lives of several gentlemen who died in that quarrel through your silence."¹

That singular defence produced dismay among the rebel party, by refuting their assertions. Everything was turning against them, just as they fancied themselves masters. Mary, not satisfied with repelling their accusations, attacked them on all the points. She reproached them with the infamy of their conduct, unmasked their designs, and dared to tell them to their faces that they had attacked her person only to rob her of her authority; that, during the frightful night in which Riccio fell under their blows, they had endangered the life of the unborn son in whom they pretended to take so deep an interest; that they vainly boasted of having reached power legitimately, as by violence alone they had succeeded in wringing from her the act of abdication.²

A declaration so firm and so pointed needed no reply, so Moray lowered his tone, and proposed to his sister a peaceful settlement. The only condition imposed was that she should ratify the deed of abdication wrested from her at Lochleven. Had Mary been guilty, she had but to yield, to recover her freedom and her reputation, already much tarnished. Her own interest and that of her son, whom they wished to hand over

¹ Blackwood, *Œuvres Complètes*, 611, 612.

² Mary Stuart to her commissioners. Labanoff, II. 259 sq.

to Elizabeth,¹ required that she should make that concession. Knollys sought, by striking terror into her, to make her resign the crown;² and Cecil threatened to dishonour her before the Christian princes by publishing her case, if she refused to acknowledge the supremacy of England over Scotland:³ but to yield was to confess one's self beaten, and the Queen of Scots was not so cowardly as to sacrifice her honour for life and freedom. "I am resolved to die," wrote she, "rather than yield my crown, and the last word that I shall say in my life shall be that of a Queen of Scotland. . . . My son is not old enough to wield the sceptre; to lay down the crown in his favour would be to encourage false interpretations. People would not fail to say that, feeling myself guilty, and fearing to be accused publicly, I have liked better to pay than to plead."⁴

The unhappy captive afterwards thought over what might happen at the death of Elizabeth, and what her own situation might be, if her son died before her. "I should be," said she, "in perpetual fear of my life, for he who should be reigning would never be content until he had made himself secure by the death of me and those whom he thought had a better right to reign than he had; so many like things have happened, that the examples serve me as sufficient warnings to expect nothing less." And she ended her letter with these energetic words, "Better is it to die as a Queen than as a private woman."⁵

It was clear that nothing could shake the constancy of the Queen of Scots. Elizabeth was beaten, and her pride was so much the more hurt in proportion as womanly jealousy, religious hatred and political reasons urged her to dishonour her rival, and ruin her completely.

Moray was hardly more satisfied. He had keenly pursued his legitimate Sovereign with all his calumnies, and now he was reaping only hatred from his own party, and the scorn of all the honest people in England. The Duke of Norfolk, whom he had betrayed, avenged himself cruelly. He had roused the people of the north of England, he had united the Catholic families of Scotland, and, unknown to the Regent, had formed a powerful league with them. Norton and Markenfield had arranged to bar Moray's passage into Scotland, and surprise him in

¹ Mary to the Earl of Mar, 17th December 1568: Prince Labanoff, II. 255. Don Frances d'Alava to Philip II., 4th July 1569: Teulet, V. 49.

² Knollys to Queen Elizabeth, 26th December. Hosack's Defence of Q. Mary, 457.

"I began," writes Knollys, "to strike as great terror into her as I could."

³ Chalmers' Life of Queen Mary, I. 475.

⁴ Declaration of Mary Stuart, presented by her commissioners at the Conferences on the 9th January 1569. Prince Labanoff, II. 274-275.

⁵ Id, *ibid*, 276, 277. Goodall, II. 301-303.

Yorkshire.¹ To complete his disgrace, the wretched man had neither money nor the hope of getting any.² He remained at Kingston, broken down under the weight of his crimes, and dreading equally the English and the Scots. Avenging Justice was close upon his heels; but he had still many affronts to bear, and many plots to hatch, before his wretched end came. When he sought leave to return to Scotland, the English commissioners granted it. In setting out, however, he had to digest these vexing words, that "thair had bene nathing sufficientlie producit nor schawin be thame aganis the Quene thair Souerane, quhairby the Quene of Ingland sould conceive or tak ony evil opinioun of the Quene hir guid sister, for ony thing zit sene."³

To such a state did those shameful doings come. On the 10th of January, Elizabeth had the commissioners told, in her name, that the Conferences were ended.⁴ Mary's innocence was generally acknowledged and proclaimed; Elizabeth herself admitted it.⁵ The rebels, ashamed of their failure, had sought, by means of single combat with Lord Herries, to conceal from their own eyes, and from those of the public, the poor idea which they had of themselves. "Let all the members of your faction," replied the valiant Lord, "sign the challenge, then I shall name the murderer of Darnley, and throw down the glove." That cool intrepidity awed the rebels, and no one came forward to fight the duel which had been offered: all was lost, even the semblance of honour.⁶

On the 11th, Mary's commissioners, and those of the other side were introduced, at Moray's request, into the Council chamber at Hampton Court, Cecil explaining that Moray and his adherents, being on the point of returning into their country, had wished to be confronted with the Bishop of Ross, Lord Herries and the Abbot of Kilwinning, to learn whether, or not, they persisted in accusing them of the King's murder, and whether they did so in the name of their mistress, or in their own names. Mary's commissioners replied that they had received a formal order to that effect from their mistress, and that they

¹ Murdin's State Papers, 52.

² Melville's Memoirs, 212.

³ "The form of the answer gëvin to the Erle of Murray." Goodall, II. 305.

⁴ Goodall, II., 93, sq. Lesley's Negotiations, Anderson, Vol. III. The Conferences at York, etc., Anderson, IV., ii. Craufurd's Memoirs, 75-106. Spottiswoode, II., 93-107. Whitaker, I., 57, 155, et passim.

Miss Strickland, IV., 218 sq. Hosack, xi.-xiv., and the append. *

⁵ Melville's Memoirs, 212. Mary to Elizabeth, Prince Labanoff, V., 323.

⁶ La Mothe Fénelon. Correspondance Diplomatique, I., 89, 102. Italian Despatch of Commander Petrucci. Prince Labanoff, VII., 147. The Cartels of Lords Herries and Lindsay. Bishop Keith, Preface, xii.

had shown it to the Queen of England and her Council; that, as regarded them, despite the information which had reached them about those who had plotted and done the murder, they did not intend to declare whether Moray or his friends had had a hand in it, that they confined themselves, in the mean time, to accuse them, in the name of the Queen, but that they would say, in all conscience, what they knew about it, as soon as their mistress should have named them in private; and that, so far, they neither acquitted them nor condemned them, more than the Queen had ordered.

Moray and his party stoutly denied having had any part in the murder, put on an air of indignation, and threatened to go to the Queen at Bolton, and ask her, face to face, whether she persisted in accusing them. One of the commissioners replied that such a step was quite useless, seeing that the Queen had given her opinion in letters signed by her own hand, and sealed with her own seal; and that he and his colleagues would uphold the charge, according to the command which they had received from her.¹

That last proceeding was the crowning point of so many infamous deeds; for the wronged Moray, instead of going to Elizabeth, as he spoke of doing, took leave of her on the day following the altercation, and did not venture to speak of Bolton.²

¹ Extract from Q. Mary's Register, Goodall, II., 307, 309.

² Goodall, II., 309.

CHAPTER XIV.

1569—1570.

MORAY'S FORLORNNES—ANGER OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK—THEIR RECONCILIATION—THE RETURN OF THE REGENT TO SCOTLAND—THE DUKE OF CHATELLERAUT IS ARRESTED AT YORK AND THEN RELEASED—MARY IS TRANSFERRED TO TUTBURY—MORAY'S TREASON—THE AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND—LEAGUE OF THE NOBLES AGAINST CECIL IN FAVOUR OF NORFOLK—THE PERTH ASSEMBLY—ELIZABETH'S ANGER—GENERAL DESERTION—NORFOLK'S PLANS REVEALED—ARREST OF NORFOLK—INSURRECTION IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND—DEFEAT OF THE REBELS—ELIZABETH'S REVENGE—LETHINGTON'S TRIAL—MARY STUART IN DANGER—MURDER OF THE REGENT.

IN the sad debates which I have related, everybody had to suffer, and everybody believed he had a right to complain. The Queen of Scots had been maligned, yet she still had friends; the Duke of Norfolk had seen himself for a moment compromised; but he had had the good fortune to get out of the difficulty into which he had been trapped; the most unfortunate of all those who happened to take part in those affairs, was Moray. He could not regain the good graces of his sister, whom he had slandered, and in the opinion of Elizabeth, and even of his own partisans, he had not gone far enough; some looked upon him as an ambitious man and a traitor; others as a coward, and by an unlooked for change, he was himself said to be guilty of the crime with which he had charged his sister. In spite of the good opinion which he held of himself, he despaired of recovering his popularity. To those dangers which touched his fortune, was added a real peril of his life. The Duke of Norfolk had decided on putting him to death as soon as possible, thereby wreaking vengeance on him for his duplicity; whichever way the Regent turned, hatred or contempt stared him in the face; in his eyes indifference would have been a blessing.

Throckmorton, for humane reasons, skilfully arranged an interview betwixt the Duke and the Regent. Moray apologized for his fault, by blaming his colleagues, promised all that was asked of him, and gave marks of a heartfelt repentance. Perhaps he was acting with frankness; the Duke of Norfolk was certainly so persuaded. He told

Moray of his plan of wedding the Queen of Scots, and giving his daughter to the young King, and the Regent gladly consented.¹

No doubt in seeing so much condescension, and so much weakness in a man who had already betrayed him, Norfolk ought to have been more discreet; but there is nothing that leads one astray like passion. It seemed to him that everybody ought to be of his opinion, see with his eyes, feel, speak and act like him; of a frank and loyal disposition, he did not suspect others, and, on that point, he and Mary Stuart very much resembled each other. Excess of confidence on the Duke's part, saved Moray from poverty. He got from Elizabeth, through Norfolk, a large sum of money, which the latter was bound to repay in full, having given himself as security;² the Earls and Barons of the North of England were told not to annoy him on his return, and he was thus, against all expectation, enabled quietly to reach Scotland. Before his departure, however, he was guilty of another act of treason. In a conference with Elizabeth, he laid bare Norfolk's plans, and promised to send her by an express, the letters he should receive from the Duke. That fact shows what people ought to think of Moray.³

Moray was still in London when the Duke of Chatelleraut arrived there, and besought the Court of England to take from him the Regency, as much on account of his birth as of his ambition. Elizabeth gladly saw the Duke come forward as a competitor. It served her purpose admirably; for she had now a rival to oppose to Moray, if he did not give way to her, and she could thus keep up division in Scotland, without cost, and ensure the success of her policy. That idea vanished when the Duke of Chatelleraut claimed the Regency as his right, and allowed it to be understood that he would again put Mary on the throne of Scotland.⁴ Far from helping Elizabeth, he was thus going directly against her views; she declared to him that if he ever dared to meddle with the affairs of Scotland, and take part in any intrigue for replacing the Queen on the throne, he should have reason to repent it.⁵

¹ Melville's *Memoirs*, 214. Blackwood, *Œuvres Complètes*, 627. Samuel Jebb, after Camden, affirms that Moray proposed it. *Life of Q. Mary*, 190. If the fact be true, there is not in any language an expression degrading enough to brand the Regent. The desire of the throne, and the thirst for command, explain the ruses employed by

him against Mary; nothing can explain his treatment of Norfolk.

² Rymer, *Acta et fœdera*, Vol. VI., iv., 137. Melville's *Memoirs*, 214.

³ Melville's *Memoirs*, 215.

⁴ Smolett's *History of England*, Book v., Chap vi., 119.

⁵ Mary Stuart to la Mothe Fénelon, (no date). Prince Labanoff, II., 320.

After that, Chatelleraut had nothing further to hope for; in vain he asked leave to visit his Sovereign; the letter which he wrote to her was intercepted by spies,¹ and he was himself arrested a few days after in York. At the request of Mary and the French ambassador, he was released.²

It is not yet known, and probably never will be, whether or not Chatelleraut was acting under some foreign influence, when he took that step; it is certain, at least, that at the very same period, various projects were being formed in favour of Mary Stuart. Her hand was sought by Philip II., for Don Juan of Austria, while the Duke of Alva, was meditating a descent on England. Elizabeth had to be on her guard, and so she sent Mary from Bolton Castle to Tutbury, and afterwards to Wingfield.³

That measure showed that Elizabeth's resolution was to keep the Queen of Scots prisoner.⁴ Nothing, however, could have justified such severity; for she had not been condemned at the Conferences of York or Westminster. Elizabeth had no right to keep her longer. To cloak her tyranny, she complained of certain proclamations issued in Scotland by the partisans of the former rule. Mary, on her journey, learned the reasons given by Elizabeth. "I swear to you," wrote she to her from Ripon, "that as regards the proclamations, none of my commissioners has ever heard of them, nor have I myself ever seen the contents."⁵ The Queen reached Tutbury Castle on the 3rd of February.

By Moray's treason, the smouldering embers of strife were rekindled. The Duke of Norfolk, relying on the Regent's pledged word to live with him on friendly terms, and work in concert for the alliance which they had settled, wrote him several letters, not knowing that he was betrayed to Elizabeth. The letters were sent to London; the Duke found himself compromised, and Mary's end was made nearer. Unfortunate events sometimes become more unfortunate, from the circumstances which accompany them. The ill-will of man, quick in heaping evil upon evil, ascribed absurd projects to the Queen and the Duke. The position of the two, while giving grounds for the strange rumours was a powerful help to their enemies, and favoured

¹ Sussex to Cecil, 8th February. State Paper Office. Mary Q. of Scots, Vol. III.

² Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, 10th February, 1569. Prince Labanoff, II., 302.

³ Correspondance diplomatique de la Mothe

Fénelon, I., 195, 214 sq. Prince Labanoff, II., 280.

⁴ Queen Elizabeth to Moray, 20th Sept., 1568. And Moray to Q. Elizabeth 28th. State Paper Office.

⁵ Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, 27th January 1569. Prince Labanoff, II., 288.

suspicious. Elizabeth saw in it a serious threat; the jeerers and pamphleteers who had already attributed to the Queen of Scots feelings worse than thoughtless, saw in it a new proof of her inconstancy; no one considered that in resigning herself to a new alliance, she consulted only the good of the state, of her people and of her son.¹

Disorder was rife in Scotland; the several parties were keenly fighting for the mastery. The Scots who were faithful to the Queen, had grouped themselves around the Duke of Chatelleraut; those who had escaped death at Langside rallied to begin the war anew. Their Queen a prisoner, the thought of having to hand over her son to the English, and the need to wipe out the memory of past defeats, all those things roused their courage. Scotland was stirring, and it was hard to tell what might result. The rumours, which came from France, encouraged the Catholics and irritated the Protestants, and, to all appearances, the battle of Jarnac was about to have its counterpart in Scotland.²

In circumstances so critical, the Regent recovered his energy; and the firmness of his conduct again raised him in public opinion. He had a great advantage over his adversaries, inasmuch as it was his good fortune to have at his command thoroughly drilled troops; whilst the Catholics, without preparation, had to muster from all the corners of Scotland. Although weak, and composed of men who did not know one another, yet that army was to be dreaded; religion bound those strange bands together, and made up for discipline. To allow them to unite, in the hope of crushing them all at once, was to risk being beaten. Moray saw that, and hurried towards Glasgow. The Duke of Chatelleraut, surprised before he could place himself upon the defensive, was obliged to acknowledge the authority of the young King, and hand over hostages;³ Lord Herries also surrendered, and the northern clans saw their lands ravaged. Moray's power was re-established; and it would have remained firm, if the Regent had not, on mere suspicions and heedless of his own word, gone beyond

¹ The King of France wrote to his ambassador on the 27th July 1569: "Je vous prie, Monsieur de la Mothe Fénelon, que dextrement, comme de vous-mesme, et sans faire cognoistre en façon du monde que je vous en aye rien escript, vous fassiez tout ce qu'il vous sera possible pour faire trouver bon le dict mariage à la dicte Royne d'Escosse, et le favorisiez tant, par toutz les bons moyens que vous pourrés trouver de par dellà, qu'il se

puisse conduire à quelque bon effect, etc." *Supplément à la correspondance diplom. de la Mothe Fénelon*, 35, 40; 53. "Le duc de Lorraine et mon cousin le Cardinal de Lorraine y presteront leur consentement." Letter of Catherine de Médicis to la Mothe Fénelon, *ibid.*, 57.

² *Correspondance diplomatique de la Mothe Fénelon*, I., 40, 232. *Camden*, I., 156.

³ *Corresp. diplom.*, I., 300, 328.

the limits of justice and prudence, by imprisoning the Duke of Chatelleraut and Lord Herries, in Edinburgh Castle.¹ That blow, it is true, intimidated Argyll; but it offended the Catholics, and for the time gave Huntly more power.² The Earl kept the field as long as he could, hoping each day to receive help from France or Spain. That vain hope prolonged the struggle, and enraged the Regent. When Huntly in his turn fell, the reprisals were most bloody. Moray led his army through the provinces, which were up in arms, to quell the insurrection, and dazzle them by the splendour of his power. He allowed his soldiers to pillage, as a reward for their labours; whence arose unheard of vexations, excessive taxes, confiscation of property, burning of houses, imprisonment, murder, and all the miseries of an invasion, so much the more ferocious as it was made by fellow-countrymen. "The like," says Lesley, "was never used in anie time paste, since that Realme was first inhabited;"³ and Moray, as if not satisfied with punishing those of the fallen party, wished also, in that indecent triumph, to insult all that Scotland had venerated. He condemned four priests to be hanged, and some poor women, whose whole crime apparently consisted in praying to God after the old manner, to be burnt alive for witchcraft.⁴

A Court cabal had nearly as great influence as that war on the affairs of Scotland. The Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke and Derby, jealous of the power which Cecil enjoyed, leagued themselves against him. The Earl of Leicester became one of the conspirators, and was charged to accuse Cecil, in presence of Elizabeth, with wishing to break with the Netherlands, and engage England in a struggle as hazardous as it might be costly. Opposing interests urged the lords to sustain the accusation. No one, until then had had the boldness to attack the all-powerful minister; but once the accusation was made, all England joined the conspiracy, and worked for its success. The humbled nobility; the persecuted Catholics; Mary Stuart's friends, a long time abused, then deceived; the merchants,

¹ Herries' Memoirs, 113, sq. Mary Stuart to la Mothe Fénelon, 18th April.—Prince Labanoff, II., 322. Correspondance diplom. de la Mothe Fénelon, I. 369. According to that ambassador, Chatelleraut was put into prison for having broken his word, and having refused to recognise the young King: "Le Comte de Mora, frustré de son espérance, recourut aulx menasses et en fin les fist constituer prisonniers (Chatelleraut and Herries) et mettre dans le château; mais il n'a peu encores tirer autre

chose du dict duc, sinon qu'il conduyra sa teste jusques au poteau plus tost qu'il reconnisse autre pour son souverain que la Royne, sa Mestresse."—Corresp. diplom., I., 369, 370.

² Corresp. diplom., I., 378; Prince Labanoff, II., 337.

³ J. Lesley's Negotiations.—Anderson, III., 44.

⁴ Diurnal of Occur., 145; Craufurd's Memoirs, 113.

ruined through his fault; his very friends, dreading for themselves the snares which the crafty minister had lately used for their advantage, now hoped for his ruin. Even the Queen herself, misled by Leicester, feigned to be of the same opinion. Those rivalries, jealousies, and hatreds broke out at once, and Cecil saw himself suddenly on the brink of ruin. During his long administration he had foreseen all and foiled all; the Queen's enemies, and his own, had been made powerless; this time his usual shrewdness was at fault, and the hour of his fall seemed to be nigh.¹

Resistance and silence were for him full of dangers; on the one hand he must have been overwhelmed, on the other removed from power. It was in that difficult crisis that this skilful man gave proof of the greatest craftiness. Instead of braving the angry storm, he kept as much as he could in the background, and even went over to the camp of his enemies. He granted the truth of the opinions of his adversaries, seemed to side with them in their views, lavished praises upon them, and was the first to act; in a word, he behaved with so much prudence that he led the party which had been formed to ruin him.²

Meanwhile men's minds were restless, and the position of the Queen of Scots seemed peculiar and unsettled. Elizabeth would not speak out. An attempt at reconciliation was made in the month of May, but the parties could not come to an understanding. Moray hindered the plans, protesting his desire to be relieved of the Regency.³ The league of Norfolk and the English nobles was strengthened by those delays and obstacles. The skilful conduct equalled the boldness of the plan: for Norfolk publicly rejected the hand of the Queen of Scots; and while every step taken in secret led him towards his aim, he proposed Leicester and his brother, Henry Howard, one after the other, in the hope of eluding Elizabeth's vigilance. At last, begged and entreated by the Bishop of Ross, Wood, secretary to Moray, and the Earls of Arundel, Leicester and Pembroke, he gave a formal consent.⁴

The Regent had favoured that alliance as long as he saw its execution impossible or distant; when he was forced to act, he hesitated, and, without undertaking anything directly against Norfolk, roused the

¹ Note to Catherine de Médicis.—Correspondance diplom. de la Mothe Fénelon, I., 258-262.

² Camdeni Historia, i., 152.

³ Lesley's Negotiations.—Anderson's Collection, III., 49.

⁴ The Lords of Council wrote to Mary to have her consent.—Corresp. diplom., II., 313, III., 24. The Bishop of Ross, who with good reason suspected Moray, had at first refused to have anything to do with it.—Lesley's Negotiations, 39.

Presbyterians to resistance. Intrigue was progressing. Elizabeth, informed of what was going on, perhaps by Leicester, certainly by Wood¹ and Moray,² allowed matters to take their course. From the remotest part of Denmark, Bothwell had signified his consent to a divorce, and Mary and Norfolk had pledged their words.³ The Earls of Arundel, Derby, Pembroke, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Southampton, Northumberland, Sussex and Westmoreland, Lord Lumley, Throckmorton and Gerard Rolstone, mindful of the disorders brought about by the war of the Roses, and dreading to see like horrors at the death of Elizabeth, favoured the projected alliance.⁴

Such was the state of affairs when the Scottish parliament, composed of friends and enemies of the Queen, met at Perth. During several sittings, that assembly was one of most grievous discord. Elizabeth had proposed various lines of conduct towards Mary Stuart: the first was to restore the Queen in the fulness of her authority; the second, to make her share the throne with her son; and the last, to treat her as a private lady, with a pension suited to her rank. The first two proposals were set aside without discussion; the third was taken into consideration.⁵

The question of the Queen's divorce from Bothwell gave rise to a violent debate. Lethington supported it by showing that such an act would prejudice neither the King nor the Church. The Clerk Register, Makgill, rose and spoke with the utmost violence. Lethington by no means expected that resistance, for, at the outset, the Presbyterians had protested against the Queen's marriage with Bothwell, and Makgill was Presbyterian; so he replied harshly to the furious speech of the Clerk Register that it "was strange to think how they that, not many months passed, seemed to desire nothing more than the Queen's separation from Bothwell, should now, when it was offered, decline the same." The treasurer, Richardson, added to the confusion by exclaiming, out of order, and without having got leave to speak, that Lethington was wrong, that his speech attacked the King's authority, and that whosoever expressed such sentiments, deserved to be disgraced and cursed as a traitor. The members were getting excited; each formed an opinion, and supported it resolutely, when the opposite view was put forward by his adversaries. Personal rivalries added bitterness to the general fury.

¹ Lesley's *Negotiat.*, 72.

² Moray to Cecil, 22d Oct., 7th and 19th Nov.; to Elizabeth, 22d and 29th Oct.—State Paper Office.

³ *Corresp. diplom.*, II., 194.

⁴ Lesley's *Negotiat.*, 55, 98; Camdeni *Historia*, i., 158.

⁵ M. Mignet, *Histoire de Marie Stuart*, II., 86.

"It was answered again with warmth, 'That if the Queen was so earnest in the divorce, she might write to the King of Denmark, and desire him to do justice upon Bothwell for the murder of the King her husband. That done, the divorce would not be needful, and she freed to marry where and when she pleased.'" ¹ Quiet had fled; the assembly separated in disorder, leaving the fate of the Queen of Scots undecided.

Mary had hoped for great things from that parliament; but its doings caused her great grief. Persecution still followed her: the captive was no longer free to correspond with any one; her commissioners were watched and their letters seized.² She had to do with fewer servants, and those who left, were not allowed to choose their place of abode; they were forcibly taken to the Borders, where they ran the risk of being hanged.³ Mary was accused of having assigned to the Duke d'Anjou her rights to the English throne;⁴ and that groundless statement had found believers.⁵ In vain did Mary protest that she had made no arrangement with the Duke d'Anjou to the prejudice of the Queen of England; she was not listened to; but they refused to believe in her sincerity, and only by testimonial letters from the Court of France, was Elizabeth at length pacified.⁶

Mary's captivity became more and more painful, and no political reason could excuse the infamies which she was made to undergo. "I entreat you," she wrote to the French ambassador, "to have pity on a poor prisoner, who, though guiltless, fears for her life; if I remain here for a time, I shall lose not only my kingdom, but also my life."⁷ "What thing more worthy of compassion," she again wrote, "than that from being happy, as I could call myself, I should now have fallen to these depths of misfortune; and what destiny more worthy of tears, than that from the freedom of the past, I should have become a slave in the power of my enemies."⁸ She was shut up, without news from France, and ever

¹ Spottiswoode, II., 115, 116; Herries' Memoirs, 116; Corresp. diplom., II., 204, 205; Samuel Jebb, 204.

² Queen Elizabeth to Shrewsbury, 25th Sept. 1569.—State Paper Office; Mary Queen of Scots, iv., and various letters of Mary Stuart; Prince Labanoff, II., 311, 331, 380.

³ Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, 1st Oct. 1569.—Prince Labanoff, II., 383.

⁴ Corresp. diplom., I., 412; Prince Labanoff, II., 348, sq., 377.

⁵ Mary Stuart to the Council of England,

15th May 1569.—Prince Labanoff, II., 348, sq.; Corresp. diplom., I., 412.

⁶ Declaration of the King of France and of the Duke d'Anjou.—Corresp. diplom. de la Mothe Fénelon, I., 431, 433.

⁷ Mary Stuart to la Mothe Fénelon, 25th Sept. 1569.—Prince Labanoff, II., 382.

⁸ "Qual cosa si può veder più degna di compassione, che di beata ch'io poteva chiamarmi, vedermi hora caduta in tanta infelicità! Qual cosa è più degna da piangersi che di libera ch'io mi trovava, esser divenuta serva, et in mano del nemico?"—Mary Stuart to Pope Pius V., Prince Labanoff, VII., 20.

annoyed by prying visitors, and measures as hard as they were hateful.¹ "I have been forbidden to go out," she wrote to her terrible rival; "I am in terror of my life, for they have come and searched my coffers, have entered my chamber with pistols and arms, accused my servants, searched them, and kept them in custody."² It will now be readily seen that Mary regretted she had not leave to ransom herself.³

Elizabeth thought she was justified in being severe. The rumour that Norfolk was betrothed to the Queen of Scots was spreading; and although there was no proof, it seemed likely to cause trouble. With plotters, idlers and evil-doers, it was the only topic of conversation.

With the view, perhaps,⁴ of quieting Elizabeth, and shielding the Duke of Norfolk from her anger, Leicester took upon himself to lay the whole affair before his mistress. The Court being at Tichfield, he pretended to be ill, and went to bed. Elizabeth was grieved at it, for she was very fond of Leicester. Wishing to know for herself if the patient was seriously ill, she went to see him in his room. Leicester seemed put out by this visit, a thing very unusual with the Earl in presence of his Sovereign. The liberties he took with her were a secret to no one, and their wonted doings were those rather of a husband and wife than of a queen and her subject.⁵ Elizabeth asked him why he was put out, and forthwith the Duke of Norfolk's plans were revealed. The Queen sent for Norfolk, spoke to him of his marriage, told him of her displeasure in severe and harsh words,⁶ and reminded him of what he had said on his return from the York Conferences: "I love to slepe uppon a saft pillow."⁷

The Bishop of Ross having, meanwhile, come to solicit Mary's release, Elizabeth answered him that the Queen of Scots had better keep quiet, if she did not wish to have those in whom she trusted brought to the block.⁸

To make ready for action, Elizabeth sent George Carey to Scotland to ask the Regent what she ought to think of the conspiracy. The Regent gladly replied; moreover, he was base enough to give up the documents which he held from Norfolk, and reveal what had been done

¹ Blackwood, *Cœuvres Complètes*, 629.

² Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, 1st October 1569.—Prince Labanoff, II., 384.

³ Mary to Elizabeth, 1st Oct. and 10th Nov.—Prince Labanoff, II., 385, 391.

⁴ "Aulcuns estiment qu'ilz avoient ainsy prins le party du dict duc, pour mieulx decouvrir son faict et puy le luy traverser."—Corresp. diplom., II., 272.

⁵ Don Guerau de Espes said of Leicester

that he was of some importance only by his excessive familiarity with the Queen: "por la mucha privanza que con la Reina tiene;" that he was a vicious and rapacious man "hombre liviano y codicioso."—Teulet, V., 47.

⁶ La Mothe Fénelon, *Corresp. diplom.*, II., 236.

⁷ Samuel Jebb, *Life of Queen Mary*, 206.

⁸ Camdeni *Historia*, i., 163.

towards the marriage. That discovery increased the anger of Elizabeth, who was at length unable to bridle her temper. Reserved on every other occasion, cunning and clever at putting others on the wrong track, according to the remark of a historian,¹ towards the Queen of Scots only, she could not hide her rage. She spoke of her in shameless terms in presence of the foreign ambassadors, heedless of her own honour, and uttering many terrible threats.²

Norfolk was frightened, and dreading an interview alike painful to both parties, followed the advice which he received on the subject, and secretly leaving the court, withdrew to his estates.³ That rich lord, although capable of ambition, was not born for intrigue; gentle, affable and kind, he was worshipped by his vassals. He had but to say the word, and a large army was ready to take the field with him against Elizabeth: but he would not do so, choosing to live quietly amid his vast estates.

The thought of his greatness, and the wish to keep his rank or perhaps rise higher, drew him back to the court. He wrote to his friends, begging them to intercede with Elizabeth to give him a friendly welcome, and he set out, against the advice of the French ambassador.⁴ He was met at St Alban's by one Fitzgarret, and taken to Burnham, near Windsor, where he had to undergo several examinations. He defended himself so well that, "on the commissioners relating his good replies to the said Lady (Elizabeth), she showed herself by no means pleased that they wished to excuse him, and said to them many things which proceeded from a much offended heart; even when one of them went so far as to say that, according to the laws of the country, they found him guilty of nothing, 'Go,' said she to them, 'what the laws cannot do for his head, my authority shall make possible.' Then she got into so great a rage that she fainted, and vinegar and other remedies had to be used."⁵ Norfolk's coffers were opened, his papers seized, and he was confined in the Tower, in a small room without light, the same which his father had occupied up till the time of his execution.⁶

All who had had dealings with the Duke were questioned. The Bishop of Ross was degraded, and Leicester acquitted; Arundel, Lumley, Pembroke and Throckmorton were put under arrest in their own

¹ Smolett's History, Book v., chap. vi.

² Corresp. diplom., II., 169; Smolett, loc. cit.

³ Corresp. diplom., II., 248.

⁴ Corresp. diplom., II., 261; Haynes' Col-

lection of State Papers from Original Letters, 528 sq.; Camdeni Historia, i., 164.

⁵ Corresp. diplom., II., 302.

⁶ Corresp. diplom., II., 336.

dwellings ;¹ Ridolphi, the agent of Cosmo I., Grand Duke of Tuscany, was detained in Walsingham's house ; the Earl of Northumberland and that of Westmoreland were closely watched. A long discussion took place as to what ought to be done with the Queen of Scots. She was young and beautiful ; she had fallen from a lofty station ; and, from her place of captivity, she could sow the seeds of revolt in England. Those who gained her presence were won over by the elegance of her manners and the charms of her conversation ;² the Catholics, from higher grounds, viewed her misfortunes as the result of her creed, and proclaimed her a martyr to her religion, while all of them hated the heartless Elizabeth.

That love for the Queen of Scots often showed itself ; noble lords of brilliant prospects offering to draw the sword, and shed their blood to avenge her woes. The days of chivalry had returned. Mary Stuart was, in the eyes of all, an accomplished Princess, the more winning as she was wretchedly unfortunate, though at the same time innocent ; and, but for the prudent counsels that Norfolk gave her, she would likely have accepted the offers of her cavaliers.³

That movement made the English government more watchful. Mary was removed to Coventry, where, as at Tutbury, she had for keeper her deadly enemy the Earl of Huntingdon, a man who, through his pretensions to the throne was of a stern and implacable nature. He had private orders to put the dangerous captive to death, if there should be need.⁴

¹ Corresp. diplom., II., 257, 259, 303.

² Elizabeth owned how seductive her rival was when she asked "Maistre Mildmay," who was to proceed to Mary, "S'il ne se lairroit point gaigner à elle comme les aultres, qui l'avoient veue ; dont il tomba en ung merveil-leux doute que le voyage luy fût pernicieux, et escripvit dez lors à ung sien amy qu'il s'en excuseroit."—Corresp. diplom., III., 335. "Elizabeth," says Sir Walter Scott, in his Biographical Memoir of Sir Ralph Sadler, "seems to have involuntarily attributed such fascination to her rival, that she suspected the fidelity of all who came within the reach of her attraction."—Biograph. Mem., xxviii. Joseph Riccio wrote to Joseph Lutini, "Pigliate guardia voi che la conoscete, pigliate guardia che non v'abuzzi delle sue parole, come voi sapete bene."—Tytler's Proofs and Illustrations, III., 411.

³ "Vray est," says la Mothe Fénelon, "qu'elle (Elizabeth) commençoit à cognoistre que les siens mesmes, et ses plus obligés, la

trahysent et prennent le party de la Roynne d'Escosse contre elle."—Corresp. diplom., II., 125. When, in 1586, Mary's papers were seized, several letters were found "*necon quorundam Angliæ Procerum ad illam literæ amoris et officii plenissimæ.*"—Camdeni Historia, i., 442. "She has withal an alluring grace," wrote one of Elizabeth's agents a year before, "a pretty Scottish speech, and a searching wit, clouded with mildnes. Fame might move some to relieve her ; and glory, joined to gain, might stir others to venture much for her sake." Mr White to Cecil, printed in Haynes' Collection, 510.

⁴ Corresp. diplom., II., 246. Lesley's Negotiations, 78. Camden, 169. A letter from Leicester, published by Tytler, states that at the period of the Northumberland revolt, Mary was condemned to death. "You know the Great Seal of England was sent then, and thought just and meet, upon the sudden, for her execution."—Proofs and Illust., III., 419.

Those measures prevented her escape ;¹ but they could not prevent a rising. Mary had sent secret messages to the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland ; by them she secured as adherents, Lord Dacres, Egremont Ratcliffe (brother of Sussex), and roused Norton, Markenfield, and Tempest, all strong and courageous men, glad to draw their swords for so just a cause.² The revolt was planned in a short time. Sussex was told of it, but the affair had been so skilfully arranged, that he could not make sure about the truth of the reports then current. He sent for the two Earls, on whom the gravest suspicion lay, and overwhelmed them with questions, without discovering anything on which he could act. At the same time, Elizabeth intercepted the despatches of the ambassadors of France and Spain,³ and charged Ralph Sadler to watch Sussex himself.⁴ A vast system of *espionage* was established, even the house of the Earl of Westmoreland was watched, Captain Styrcley having introduced himself under friendly guise. It was clear that the conspirators were waiting for their opportunity. Elizabeth, though watchful, was wondering what importance ought to be assigned to that vague enterprise. A trifle hurried on the revolt.

Just as Northumberland thought he was sure of the Duke of Alva's aid, he was told that the enemy was coming up to surround his house, and take him prisoner. As usually happens with the guilty, Northumberland did not take time to find out if the reports were correct ; he mounted his horse and galloped to Branspeth, where his friend the Earl of Westmoreland dwelt. He found him in the midst of his vassals, wondering and debating what was best to be done. That hurried on the revolution. The standard was raised, and the peasants hastened to obey the call of their chiefs.

On taking the field, the chiefs issued a proclamation wherein they stated that they were loyal to Queen Elizabeth. They said they wished only to be free to practise their religion, which was being cruelly persecuted,⁵ to get rid of the dangerous advisers of the Queen, and restore freedom to Norfolk and the other peers.⁶ They numbered four

¹ *Memorias de la real academia de la historia*, Tome VII. *Apuntamientos para la historia del Rey don Felipe II.*, 342.

² *Sadler's Papers*, II., 78.

³ The arrest of la Mothe Fénelon's envoy, had all the appearances of an assassination. "A trois mille de la mayson de Lord Coban," says the ambassador, "au passaige d'ung bois, quelques ungs, montez à l'avantage, ayantz les visages couvertz, mais non tant que l'ung d'eulx n'ayt esté recogneu, le sont venuz char-

ger à coup d'espee par la teste, l'ont porté par terre, tout follé aux pieds de leurs chevaux, et luy ont demandé incontinent les lettres de France, puy les luy ayant ostées, l'ont garotté et attaché à ung arbre, et l'ont laissé là."—*Corresp. diplom.*, II., 256.

⁴ *Sadler's Papers*, II., 90.

⁵ *Corresp. diplom.*, II., 278, 279.

⁶ *Corresp. diplom.*, II., 375, 424 sq. ; *Haynes' Coll.*, 564 sq. ; *Apuntamientos*, 343, 344.

thousand infantry and six hundred horse, and their forces were becoming larger every hour.

They seized Durham, and there burned the English bibles and the books of prayers, erected a crucifix in the cathedral, and had mass celebrated with Catholic pomp.¹ They then sent five hundred horse to force Tutbury Castle and release Mary; but she was already at Coventry, and so, much precious time was lost.² The rebels then fell back upon York, hoping to take it by surprise; but their enterprise failed, and that failure damped their spirits.³ The Duke of Alba had promised to join them; they trusted to his word, but got no aid from him. Norfolk, for whom they fought, from his prison, advised them to desist.⁴ They succeeded, nevertheless, in seizing Barnard Castle, after ten days' siege, and their troops became more hopeful. But the expedition had been carried on too slowly; Elizabeth had had time to send against them troops superior in number and discipline.⁵ They dispersed at the approach of Admiral Clinton, and in their retreat they fled past Hexham, without even trying to re-form. The rout was soon complete.⁶ The Earl of Westmoreland, Ratcliffe, Norton, Markenfield and the principal rebels, hastened to cross the border, and, after brief visits paid to several chieftains, among them the Laids of Buccleuch and Fernyhirst, they went over to the continent. Less fortunate than his companions in arms, the Earl of Northumberland, sold to Moray by Hector Armstrong, was shut up at Lochleven. His wife was robbed of her riches and infamously treated; forced to flee from one place to another, she arrived by night at Hume Castle, where she was welcomed with the respect due to her rank and her misfortunes.⁷

That serious insurrection was followed by a revenge, which was taken less for the evils done than for the dread which had been inspired. In the diocese of Durham more than three hundred men perished by torture; every village had its victims. A number of innocent men, afraid to appeal, were put to death along with the guilty.⁸

Leonard Dacres, after supporting the Queen of England conscien-

¹ Corresp. diplom., II., 348, 362; Smolett's History, Book v., Chap. vi., No. 54.

² Corresp. diplom., II., 377.

³ Corresp. diplom., II., 384 sq., 417.

⁴ Prince Labanoff, II., 400; Corresp. diplom., II., 422, 423.

⁵ Corresp. diplom., II., 400.

⁶ Corresp. diplom., *Communiqué de la Reine Elizabeth*, II., 426, 427.

⁷ Cabala, 169-171; Sadler's Papers, II., 100, 110, 111; Corresp. diplom., II., 379-III., 8, 15, 22; Camdeni Historia, 166, 167; Bishop Lesley's Negotiations, 83; Diurnal of Occur., 154.

⁸ Lesley's Negotiat., 82; Camden, 170; Sadler's Papers, II., 82, note; Corresp. diplom., III., 21; Prince Labanoff, III., 1.

tiously,¹ passed over to the enemy at the end of the insurrection. He kept up the struggle with remarkable boldness. The cruelty of the conquerors forced him to hold out, it being better for him to die sword in hand, than share the fate of so many wretched beings who had been hanged or beheaded. He had at first intended to get Lord Scrope and the Bishop of Carlisle out of the way, by attacking them one after the other : unable to do so, he fell back on the Castles of Naworth and Greystock, and took possession of the domains which formerly belonged to his family. His successes terrified those in Berwickshire who thought of defending themselves. It was to be feared that the insurrection, scarcely stifled, might suddenly burst forth again. The vanquished might regain courage ; and it was important to check those beginnings. Hunsdon took the field with the Berwick garrison, and attacked the rebels ; the engagement taking place on the banks of the little river Gelt. The fight was long and fierce, and the slaughter great. Lord Dacres, who escaped with difficulty, went to Louvain, where he died an obscure death, unworthy of his rank.² Rebellion is at all times hateful, but the tyranny and injustice of Elizabeth towards the Catholics, and particularly towards Mary Stuart, were so notorious and unbearable that the rebels received rather pity than opprobrium from their contemporaries.³

While those events were taking place, Moray was hastening to his ruin, owing to imprudence and ingratitude. His fall may be dated from the Perth assembly, in which he had, as enemies, all those to whom he would not listen. Lethington boldly placed himself at the head of the malcontents, and began the strife ; but finding himself almost alone and powerless, and his friends being afraid to speak out, he quietly betook himself to the residence of the Earl of Athol. His sudden departure roused suspicion, and his silence alarmed the Regent, who ordered him to come into Council, and do the duties of Secretary. Lethington at once came but was arrested as an accomplice in the King's murder.⁴

All of the opposition dreaded the same for themselves. Lethington had, by his tact and skill, become, in Scotland, a match for the Regent ; no one could deny his talent, or the services he had rendered to the state. Moray gathered his friends together round the King, while Lethington sheltered the malcontents behind the Queen, and thus gave his side, which would otherwise have been but a modest party, a standard to follow, and a conviction of their importance.⁵ The Queen's

¹ Corresp. diplom., II., 386.

² Corresp. diplom., III., 67.

³ Tytler, III., 325 ; Camden, I., 171.

⁴ Diurnal of Occur., 149, 158. Corresp. diplom., II., 242.

⁵ Corresp. diplom., II., 279 ; III., 45, 52.

name was put forward only to cover the rivalries between one person and another, and increase the number of the malcontents. It is likely that Lethington did not seriously think of bringing her back to Scotland. He had spoken for the alliance with Norfolk, and had boasted of its advantages to Elizabeth ;¹ but, in all that, he appears to have had no other aim than to get the chance of playing a part, and to regain the prominent position he held, before the Regent threw him into the background. Kirkaldy, however, took advantage of the pretext offered him to release Lethington, by force, from the hands of those who held him prisoner, promising to give him up, on the day of trial. At dawn the streets were filled with soldiers, and patrols were sent to the quarters most distrusted, while Kirkaldy watched the movement from the citadel. The fear of some bloody fight made the hearts of all beat more quickly. The frightened Regent did not show face, and, although that day had been fixed for the trial of Lethington, neither judges nor officers of any kind were to be seen.²

The scene caused some amusement as well as anger. The Regent had on his side the people of the towns, and the creatures attached to his fortune. The nobility, whom he had betrayed or oppressed, rebelled, and believed the moment of deliverance had come. It is befitting to do this justice to Moray, that, if during his administration, disorders and villanies were rife, there was also some good done, and that the mass of the Scots gained, by enjoying peace, what had been lost in freedom. Some men, weak or unnerved, were satisfied with that condition of things, but the nobles could not resign themselves to it. They accused the Regent of treason towards Mary Stuart, perfidy towards Norfolk, violence to Chatelleraut, disloyalty to the hero of the moment, Lethington, the Secretary, in short, of cringing to Elizabeth. That charge, touching the national honour, roused the indignation of the Scots. The National antipathies, already greatly embittered by the misfortunes of the amiable Mary, woke up again quivering, and the blows which the Regent tried to strike to scare those with whom he had to deal, provoked laughter ; people wondered that he, a slave to the Court of England, should show himself so haughty in Scotland : threats but badly hide weakness.

Moray was supported only by the Presbyterian Church, of which he was the most influential member. The Presbyterians had con-

¹ Mackenzie, the Writers of the Scotch Nation, III., 228. Lingard, V., v.

² Diurnal of Occur., 149, 151. Chalmers'

Memoir of Secretary Maitland, III., 580 sq. Tytler, III., 314. Memoirs of Kirkaldy, 214, sq.

fidence in him; and he requited it, by trusting solely in them. That alliance was good enough in time of peace; but under the new and difficult state of affairs such support was insufficient, and, of course, useless. They now opened their eyes to the danger, and saw around them adversaries ready to crush them, and peaceful men, who though unwilling to fight just then, were secretly attached to the old faith, and ready, any day, to become aggressors. Those hidden enemies formed the mass of the nation; and that mass was kept in a ferment by the many lords whom Moray had estranged. People had soon become disgusted with his government, and no longer took the trouble to hide it; it was talked of openly, and Moray, blinded by the pride of power, surrounded himself with flatterers and cheats, to stifle, under lying flattery, the great voice of public opinion. From that there arose a general discontent.² The only way to check that movement, and hinder a restoration, was to get rid of the legitimate sovereign. That extreme measure, which would have scared the boldest politicians, could not deter men accustomed to blood; they all, to a man, grasped at it. Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Marshall, Montrose, Lindsay, Ruthven and Sempill, asked it from Elizabeth; Moray offered to give up the Earl of Northumberland in exchange,³ and Knox pleaded with Cecil in support of the request. They pledged themselves to respect the life of her who had been their Queen, to treat her in a manner befitting her rank, and to make it impossible for her to disturb the island.⁴ Divine justice did not allow that hypocritical claim to have any success: Moray had lived long enough, and was about to end a life beset with dangers.⁵

By his orders, the estates of those who fought at Langside had been confiscated: no one had objected, as those reprisals were usual in Scotland. The property of women was always respected. Taking no part in wars, they were likewise placed beyond the reach of vengeance. Moray did not believe himself bound to act with that mildness towards

¹ "Multo major meliorque populi pars Reginæ semper adhæsit." A. Blackwood, *Pro regibus Apologia*. Chap. ii., 18. *Corresp. diplom.* II., 279.

² Melville's *Memoirs*, 220.

³ Lesley's *Negotiat*, 83. Balfour's *Annales*, I., 349.

⁴ Tytler, III., 317, 318.

⁵ Knox, more frank than the rest, pledged himself to protect neither life nor honour: "If ye strike not at the root," wrote he, "the branches that appear to be broken will bud

again." "It appears to me," writes the judicious Tytler, "that the expressions of this great Reformer, whose stern spirit was little softened by age, go as far as to urge the necessity of putting Mary to death; but his words are somewhat dark and enigmatical." Tytler's *History*, III., 318. That is also my feeling. That ferocious letter ends with this burlesque signature: "John Knox with his one foot in the grave." I also, admit with Tytler that that is "remarkable."

James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. He sent Bellenden, the Justice Clerk, his favourite, with a company of soldiers, to take possession of Woodhouselee, belonging to the wife of James Hamilton. The soldiers invaded the domain, and drove out the gentle lady. The unfortunate woman, who had been confined the day before, fled half naked into a wood, wandered there the whole night, and was found mad the following day.¹ Hamilton tried several times to take revenge, but failed; he did not, however, lose courage, and chose his time better.

On the 23rd of January, as Moray, on his way from Stirling to Edinburgh, was going through the small town of Linlithgow, James Hamilton stationed himself in his uncle's house, closed its gates so that no one should be able to pursue him, left a gate open for himself, and his horse saddled. When the shouts of the crowd announced the approach of the Regent, he placed himself in the recess of a window, and patiently awaited his enemy. Moray advanced on horseback along the main street of Linlithgow; the crowds who thronged on his passage, slackened his progress. Hamilton waited until he was within reach, took good aim and fired, and the Regent, pierced by four bullets, died that same evening.²

The enraged multitude rushed to the house; the doors were broken open; but only a few poor servants were found. Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh was already far off in the plain.

Thus perished Moray, a man born with many talents, and having a grand career to run, if, instead of engaging in plots, he had supported his unfortunate sister. He had the energy, courage and skill needed to rule the nobility and defend the throne; but he abused those natural gifts, and social disorder followed. To him must be attributed those misfortunes which cost Mary Stuart so many tears, and yet that good Princess wept for him as a sister weeps for her brother; she forgot the outrages which she, a Queen and relative, had received from him, and remembered only to be compassionate. "I had rather," said she sobbing, "that he had lived and repented, than gone hence so ignominiously."³ The multi-

¹ Craufurd's Memoirs, 124. Samuel Jebb, Life of Q. Mary, 216.

² Diurnal of Occur. 156. Corresp. diplom. III., 39. M. Teulet maintains that Hamilton acted thus only to be revenged "for the intercourse which Moray had had with his wife." There was no need of being a palæographic archivist to imagine such a reason.

³ "Shee could not abstaine to utter her

affectioun, pittie and compassion by teares and weeping, wyslinge rather that he should have lived and acknowledged his offences toward his Prince and countrie, and so to have continued with honor then to have departed in such ignominious manner." Lesley's Negotiat., 87. She wrote a letter of condolence almost in the same terms to the Countess of Moray, published in Miss Strickland, V., 62.

tude was much moved by his tragic death, and called him "the good Regent;" with what justice he was so called, it is hard to tell. Suffice it to say that Elizabeth, on learning his death, exclaimed, with sadness, that she had lost her best friend.¹ Moray mistook the part which Providence had assigned him; he perished a victim to his false deeds, which were hurtful even after his death.

¹ "Il n'est pas à croire combien la dicte Dame (Elizabeth) a vifvement senty la mort du dict de Mora: pour la quelle s'estant enfermé dans sa chambre, elle a escryé, avecques larmes, qu'elle avoit perdu le meilleur et le plus utile amy qu'elle eut au monde, pour l'ayder à se meintenir et conserver en

repos, et en a prins ung si grand ennuy que le Comte de Lestre (Leicester) a esté contrainct de luy dire qu'elle faisoit tort à sa grandeur de monstrier que sa seurté et celle de son estat eussent à dépendre d'ung homme seul."—Instructions to Sr De Jos. Corresp. diplom. III., 54.

CHAPTER XV.

1570—1571.

DISTURBANCES AFTER THE REGENT'S MURDER—RISING OF MARY STUART'S PARTY—DISORDER IN EDINBURGH—LETTER FROM THE NOBLES TO ELIZABETH—CONDUCT OF KIRKALDY—ENGLISH INVASION—ROBERT PITCAIRN IN LONDON—EXCOMMUNICATION OF ELIZABETH—EXECUTION OF FELTON—MANY CATHOLICS LEAVE THE COUNTRY—MARY STUART'S RELATIONS WITH ELIZABETH—ADMINISTRATION OF LENNOX—BUCHANAN APPOINTED TUTOR TO JAMES VI.—JOHN KNOX'S INVECTIVES—NORFOLK'S PROJECTS—THE TAKING OF DUNBARTON CASTLE—DEATH OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF ST ANDREWS—THE TWO PARLIAMENTS—ELIZABETH'S ANXIETY—HER RELATIONS WITH FRANCE—CAPTURE OF CHESEIN—MARY STUART'S PROJECTS—THE TAKING OF STIRLING—DEATH OF LENNOX.

THE Regent's death was the signal for general anarchy. Whilst, among the Scots, some regretted his death,¹ the rest gave themselves up to the fullest joy. That event undoubtedly brought on a civil war. Both parties were bitterly enraged; and people nearly forgot to bury him who, two days before, had met with such a hearty welcome at Linlithgow. The Queen's friends were now in better hope, and, in their imprudent enthusiasm, gloried in a crime in which they had taken no part. Those opposed to her, murmured and were enraged, and, with the aid of England, sought to form anew the faction of the young King.²

Bolder than their fellow-countrymen, the Border lords had taken up arms; and already Scott of Buccleuch and Ker of Fernyhurst, the first to cross into England, had pillaged the North of that country.³ In Edinburgh the disorder grew greater daily. The question was: Ought a new Regent to be chosen? but the parties, in their hatred of each other, could not come to an understanding. Elizabeth had sent Randolph to sow the seeds⁴ of discord in the capital; but his presence there was needless;

¹ Christophe Guidman called him "the floure of Scotland, the crowne of nobilitie, the pillar of peace, the patrone of a godlie governement, and sign of Godis favour." The assassin is qualified as "unnatural monster, enemie of God and his countrey, and fullie possessit with Sathan."—Bannat. Memor., 21.

² Registrum Honoris de Morton, No. xlv., 48. Cf. No. lv., 56.

³ Bannat. Memor., 4; Spottiswoode, II. 122.

⁴ Corresp. diplom., III., 35; Diurnal of Occur., 157, 161.

for the bitterness of feeling was so keen, and the public mind so greatly upset, that it would have been impossible to make their hate deeper. It is not that in those terrible quarrels some friendly voices did not arise to preach peace and union, but when passions, a long time kept in check, have once broken forth, time must be given them to calm down: to oppose them would be to risk wreck and ruin. Kirkaldy did not cease, meanwhile, to make wonderful efforts to calm the public minds, and bring about a reconciliation betwixt the two parties. Sincerely attached to the King, that generous man had not forsaken the Queen, but still kept alive in his heart the hope of making the interests of mother and son the same.¹

He strengthened his party by setting Lethington free, and soon after Lord Herries, the Duke of Chatelleraut and several other defenders of Mary Stuart.² From that time his leanings were openly shown; and the least skilful could see that if ever Kirkaldy triumphed, the Queen should be free.

On the 16th of April the Queen's lords, despairing of peace between the two sides so opposed, wrote to the Queen of England a letter full of deep sadness: "The fyre (has) kindled in our houses," said they; "Christiane charitie will allow, nather policie permit, that quhairas we requyre water at your handis to repres the rage of the flamb, you will bring oyle, timber, and vther materiales, to increas and increas it; for so doing with our lose of the lest, ye sall procure to your self the subuersione of moir. Your Maiestie is nocht ignorant how this estate is dividit in factiones, not only the persones of the nobilitie, but, discending from them, the gentlement and communes vniversallie, in the whole leiges; and not so inequallie divydit that the ane so over far to overmatche the other, but the victorie most be doubtfull, gif materis be brocht ones to that pairt, that force most trie whois querrell is best. The factiounes ar groundit vpoun the diversitie of the two tytles pretendit to the Crowne be the mother and the sone, a pitiful caus, God knows! . . . And it is probable that sa lang as thair is tuo factiounes at home, nather factiounes laike mentenance abroad, but sall find some prince or foren potentate, who be his countenance will feid the meamore. . . . It is profitable for your Maiestie that strangeris haue no pretensit culloure whairfoir to enter in this Yle, or to set force on dry land so neir your Maiesties cuntrie; It is honorable for your Maiestie to set at ane accord the tuo persones which are maid the parteis, being your

¹ Corresp. diplom., III., 117.

² Sadler's Papers, II., 114; Diurnal of Occur., 167, 171.

nixt cousingis, and most tender to you be bloud; It is easie to your Maiestie to bring it to pass, alsweill for your credite and auctoritie with all the parties, as that the principall partie is in your realme . . . for our opinione, we sië no more convenient meanes to reduce this realme to uniformitie, and consequentlie to procure the quyetnes of the whole Yle, then that your Maiestie will enter with the Quenis hienes of Scotland in sic conditiones as may be honourable for all parteis, suire for your Maiestie, safe for the Nobilitie of this realme, and apeirand to continow the godlie amitie betwixt the two realmes, which is most commodious for both.”¹

Conciliation came neither from without nor from within; yet Kirkaldy never broke with his adversaries; his design was to gain time, and give neither explanation nor satisfaction as to the damages done by the Border lords in their inroads into England. He hoped that the English Cabinet would blame all Scotland for the ravages committed by those undisciplined men, and that the common danger would again bring the Scots under one standard. That arrangement was not wanting in skill, but, instead of attacking the whole country, the English demands referred merely to the ravagers. Elizabeth even offered her troops to the one who should hold the reins of government, to aid him in chastising those fierce warriors. Justice was not done to those complaints, and war became necessary.

The factions still struggled with one another when the English neared the Borders of Scotland. Rumour told great things of the men and the equipment of the army. Elizabeth had lavished upon it all her cares, and had amply furnished it with provisions of all kinds.² Public opinion was worked upon by the sight of the danger, and the people ran to arms.³ The English threatened Scotland from three points. Sussex, about the middle of April, was at Berwick, Sir John Forster at Carlisle, and Lord Scrope in the Western Marches.⁴ The damage done by the English troops was very great: the estates of the Lairds of Fernyhirst and Buccleuch were ravaged; their houses taken and destroyed. Everything was put to fire and sword in those luckless places.⁵ The dread of the fires kindled by the English, and the swiftness of their progress, weakened the courage of the Scots. Hume Castle surrendered without any show of

¹ Divers Lords of Scotland to Q. Elizabeth, 16th April 1570.—State Paper Office. Bannatyne places this letter at the end of March of the same year.—23, sq.

² Corresp. diplom., III., 111, 113, 117.

³ Corresp. diplom., III., 128.

⁴ Corresp. diplom., III., 139.

⁵ Diurnal of Occur., 170, sq.; Corresp. diplom., III., 140. Cf. Sadler's Papers, II., 83, 149, sq.

resistance; fifty others were razed to the ground, and about three hundred villages entirely burnt.¹ It was easy to follow the track of the English soldiers by the ruin which they had left on their path. Behind them the country was waste, and Sussex, happy at having pacified the country by making it uninhabitable, advanced towards Glasgow. The Queen's partisans scattered at his approach, and withdrew to the mountains; Drury took advantage of that retreat to pounce on the Hamilton estates, and destroy the castle of that name.² Lord Scrope was less fortunate: incessantly harassed by bands that rushed upon him, suddenly attacked him, and then retreated, he with difficulty, in spite of his great personal bravery, upheld his honour.³

The King's partisans opposed the invaders only with feeble efforts; instead even of defending their national independence, they preferred to place themselves under the high patronage of Elizabeth. They sent to her, Robert Pitcairn, abbot of Dunfermline, and bade him entreat her to use her influence and power towards withdrawing them from the state of anarchy which had so long kept them apart. Elizabeth received their deputation with words seemingly very disinterested. She replied that she had thought it strange that since Moray's death she had received no information regarding the affairs of Scotland; her ignorance on the subject had forced her, she said, to be silent; she willingly consented to take the part of mediatrix, seeing that the matter was referred to her arbitration, on condition that the Scots should abstain from all violence, and leave the affairs as they were, until they had been enquired into by means of a peaceful understanding.⁴ Discord could not be more surely fomented. That reply disconcerted the nobles who longed to be done with the thing, and created new embarrassments for them. They were obliged to appoint, temporarily, the Earl of Lennox as Governor of the Kingdom.

Elizabeth, besides, had sufficient anxieties in her own country, without making new enemies abroad by a hasty decision. She had been excommunicated on the 25th of February; but her vigilance had been so

¹ A note of a Journey into Tivdale by the Earl of Sussex: "It is conceived by such as know the enemies' part of Tivdale that there is razed, overthrown, and burnt in this journey, above fifty castles or piles, and above 300 villages."—Cabala, 175. "La mia patria hoggi di si trova involta in tante calamita, et dissipata et abattuta da tante correrie de gli Inglesi, che molte e molte ville sono state poste à fuoco et

fiamma, molti castelli et bellissime chiese sono state ruinate fino da i fondamenti." Mary Stuart to Pope Pius V.—Prince Labanoff, VII., 21.

² Diurnal of Occur., 177; Murdin's Papers, 769.

³ Corresp. diplom., III., 140, 151.

⁴ Spottiswoode, II., 133, 134.

great, that no one in England had heard of it. On the 15th of May, at daybreak the Bull was found to be posted on the door of the Bishop of London. The scandal was enormous; and, although exempt by schism and heresy from obedience to Rome, all England, and the Queen chiefly, experienced a feeling of anger and dread.¹ The most scrupulous search was made to discover the guilty one. The act was a very daring one, and it was well-nigh impossible to find him who had been so rashly bold. A copy of the Bull was at last discovered in the room of a student of Lincoln College. Astonishment gave way to fury; evidently it was not a young man to whom the thought had occurred. Tortures were used to get at the truth, and the quivering lips of the sufferer gave the name of Felton.

Felton was a gentleman who owned large estates in the neighbourhood of Southwark. He had become very energetic from daily struggles in favour of Catholicism. He seemed neither sad nor anxious when he was arrested; but he confessed his guilt, taking upon himself all the blame, and glorying in it. Put to the torture, he remained dumb. He met attentions and torments without the least concern. Condemned to death, he proclaimed himself a martyr to the Pope's supremacy. The gibbet had been erected in front of the door upon which the Bull had been posted. Felton reached the place of execution without growing pale, cast a look of indifference on the door of the Bishop's palace, and seemed busy with serious reflections. He was thinking of Elizabeth. Notwithstanding his ardent proselytism, Felton was at heart deeply attached to his country; and was anxious at that supreme moment to prove his devotedness to his Queen. He took from his finger a diamond ring worth four hundred pounds, handed it to the Earl of Sussex, and asked him to offer it to Elizabeth from him. Then, having placed himself at the disposal of the executioner, he died nobly,² on the 8th of August.

Desertion began then with persecution. Several Catholics of distinction were put in the Tower; Lord Morley, son-in-law of the Earl of Derby, took to flight and sought refuge at Dunkirk. His departure had an unfortunate effect; it was generally thought that he scrupled to acknowledge Elizabeth after the publication of the Bull. It is, however, more likely that Lord Morley fled so hurriedly only to avoid the pro-

¹ "On l'a incontinent ostée," writes la Mothe Fénelon, "mais pour donner entendre au peuple que c'est quelque aultre chose, l'on a imprimé un aultre placart."—Corresp. diplom., III., 173.

² Camden, i., 186; Corresp. diplom., III., 273; Balfour's *Annales*, I. 352; Lingard, V., v.

ceedings threatened for assisting at Catholic mass, in defiance of the tyrannical act of Uniformity.¹

An insurrection was to be feared, and Elizabeth had too much sense to conceal it from herself. Her long experience of affairs made her more fit than any one else to appreciate the situation. She thought she could not avoid the danger, but by coming to terms with Mary Stuart, and expressed her intentions to Sussex and Randolph, who knew better than others the leaning of men's minds in Scotland.² In taking that resolution, was she acting with sincerity? Or rather, had she not in view, to calm the minds and gain ground, by putting off her decision in a cause which interested the whole island? It would be hard to say; but this much is certain: that Mary saw in it no hidden thought, and that she willingly consented to all that was asked. Matters seemed likely to settle down to peace; for everybody felt the need of it. It was partly that need which caused Lennox to be accepted as Regent, against the wishes of several who reproached him with being a sworn Englishman.³

To hasten the decision of the question pending in London as to Queen Mary's restoration, Lethington wrote to the Earl of Sussex a letter, in which he blamed Elizabeth for duplicity, and for the detaining the Queen of Scots a prisoner against all rights. That was intolerable. He received a reply which likely freed him from the trouble of renewing his request. The Earl told him bluntly, "that the Queen of Scots was brought to captivity by him and his faction, and not by the Queen of England. He asked him by what doctrine can he think that the causes of their conduct were just then and are unjust now, or that the subjects may depose or set up Princes as the sailor alters the course of his ship? He may, as the old fathers did, *revocare errores suos*, but he must confess them to be errors, and not defend them to be no errors; he may think it no absurdity that a thing should be considered ill to-day which was good yesterday; and they may think in Scotland that the deposing and setting up of princes are indifferent matters, but in other places they will be taken for great absurdities and grievous errors. The principal persons in the matter are the same, and the causes are the same. As to his former conduct to the Queen, he leaves it to his conscience; perhaps he dealt openly on one side, and secretly on the other. But

¹ Corresp. diplom., III., 197; Hallam's Constitut. History, I., 185, 186.

² Q. Elizabeth's letters to Sussex and to Ran-

dolph, 31st May, State Paper Office; Corresp. diplom., III. passim, 245, 253, 278.

³ "Englishman-sworne."—Bannat. Memor., 132.

if their wishes, in Scotland, had been complied with by the Queen of England, greater severity would have been used towards their Sovereign than any one in England would have thought of.”¹

On the 1st of October, Elizabeth charged Chatsworth, Cecil and Mildmay to treat in her name with Mary Stuart.² The negotiation lasted a fortnight, and the English ambassadors were surprised to find in Mary so much prudence and skill. With the exception of a few restrictions, the proposals were admitted without difficulty. The Queen of Scots yielded with good grace to the demands of her position. Yet, equally free from stubbornness and weakness, she did not fail to maintain her rights, heedless of the danger which she might run.

The second article proposed, gave rise to a sharp discussion. Mary was asked to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and renounce her rights to the crown of England during the life of Elizabeth, or of any one of the descendants of the latter. Mary insisted that they should make it her legitimate descendants, and that caused a dispute. Elizabeth would hear of nothing on that head; she gave as a pretext her honour, not that she was overmindful of it, for she was too intimate with Leicester, though she was well aware people talked about it. It was openly said that she had already had two children by that favourite, and a certain Marsham was condemned to lose his ears for having spoken of it too openly.³ Those rumours forced Mary to insist upon the legitimacy of the heirs. It was agreed that they should make it, “any issue by any lawful husband.” The rest was easily agreed to, and Mary offered to hand over the Prince to Elizabeth, as a pledge of her everlasting attachment.⁴ A conspiracy formed by the Earl of Derby’s two sons, to help Mary to escape by one of the windows of the castle,⁵ and the sickly state of that Princess,⁶ broke up those happy negotiations.

Incidents giving rise to great uneasiness were occurring in Scotland, where the base Lennox thought to establish his power by persecuting his adversaries.⁷ He tried, by tyranny, to make the infamy of his past life be forgotten, and after long trembling himself, he wished to see

¹ Earl of Sussex to Lethington, 29th July.—Abridgment printed in J. Thorpe’s Calendar, I., 298.

² Corresp. diplom., III., 319, 327, 336.

³ Lodge’s Papers, II., 47.

⁴ Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, 16th Oct., 1570.—Prince Labanoff, II., 107. Corresp. diplom., III., 367.

⁵ Camden, ii., 187; Haynes’ Collection, 608 sq.; Spottiswoode, II., 139 sq., 154.

⁶ Mary Stuart to the Bishop of Ross.—Prince Labanoff, III., 129.

⁷ Craufurd’s Memoirs, 151; Lesley’s Negotiations, 96.

others tremble. Mary Stuart had some jewels left; Lennox, wishing to get hold of them, ill-used, and then imprisoned, those who had them in keeping.¹ Under his high patronage, and with views as covetous as his own, a set of men gathered together, and brought about the greatest disorders.²

To crown outrage, and shock all decency, Buchanan, the foul slanderer of the mother, was made tutor to her son and put in the place of honour beside the Prince as a reward for his villany.³ Matters could not go further: madness was rife, honest people were scoffed-at, and none knew in whom to put trust. "You will be unable to believe," wrote Vêrac to la Mothe Fénelon, "how little we can rely on the people of this country; and the more I see of them, the more I find that they are not to be trusted, as they would betray their fathers for a few pence."⁴ Elizabeth, in a way, encouraged the rebels, while her troops laid the country waste on two different occasions.⁵ Knox had recourse to fierce invectives, which spread terror among the Queen's friends. Boldly assailed by them, he lost his temper, and angrily exclaimed, "That I have called her an obstinate Idolatrice, one that consented to the Murder of her own Husband, and one that has committed Whoredom and villainous Adultery, I gladly grant and never minds to deny: But Railing and Sedition they are never able to prove in me, till that first they compel *Esai*, *Jeremie*, and *Ezechiel*, *St Paul*, and others, to recant; of whom I have learned plainly and boldly to call Wickedness by its own Terms,—a Fig, a Fig, and a Spade, a Spade.

"If she be innocent of any of the Crimes laid to her Charge by me, then may I be accused as a Railer; but if their own Consciences bear Witness to them that she is guilty in all the afore-named and every one of them, and in many moe, let them study how they shall be absolved before God, who threatens to cast *Jésabel* in a Bed, and them that commit Fornication with her, in great Affliction, except they repent.

¹ Mary Stuart to the Bishop of Ross, 24th November, 1570.—Prince Labanoff, III., 125.

² Various letters of Q. Mary to the Bishop of Ross.—Prince Labanoff, III., 121, 163.

³ Mary Stuart to la Mothe Fénelon.—Prince Labanoff, III., 201. The contemporaries depict him under the most gloomy colours. Craufurd says pitiable things of him in the preface to his *Memoirs*, and relates a number of far from flattering testimonies; it results therefrom

that Buchanan, as a man, appears worse than the worst, and that, as a historian of Mary, he scarcely deserves the title of novelist. The chronicler, Francis Boteville or Thin, blushes to give his opinion of such a man.—Hollinshed's *Cronicles*, App., ii., 476.

⁴ Vêrac to la Mothe Fénelon, 20th August.—Teulet, II., 416.

⁵ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 7th January, 1571.—Prince Labanoff, III., 157. Corresp. diplom., III., 294, 304.

How many flattered her when she raged in her Iniquity, under the Cloak of Authority, some within this Realme, and within this same City, understand ; but how that God, the just Judge, hath overthrown her Pride, and disappointed their false flattering Promises, the whole World can witness ; and yet they will not cease, but still will maintain her as she were an Innocent, and unjustly handled of her Subjects. Let her and her Maintainers complain upon God, who made her chief Flatterers her chiefest Enemies.

“ Now to the rest of my Accusations : I pray not for her ; I answer, I am not bound to pray for her in this Place, for Sovereign to me she is not. I prayed till I was forbidden, but this Manner of speaking the World knows not. They term her their Sovereign, and themselves the Nobility and Subjects professing her Obedience. In this they confess themselves Traitors, and so am not I bound to answer them, nor yet their Accusation, till that they give Answer to my Peremptor.

“ As to the Imprecations made against her whereof I am accused, I have willingly confessed, that I have desired, and in my Heart desire, that God, of his Mercy, for the Comfort of his pure Flock within this Realme, will oppone his Power to her Pride, and confound her and her Flatterers and Assisters in their Impiety. I praise my God, he of his Mercy has not disappointed me of my just Prayer, let them call it Imprecation or Execration as it pleases them. It has oftner than once striken, and shall strike, in Despite of Man, maintain and defend her whoso list.

“ I am further accused that I speak of their Sovereign, (mine she is not) as that she were a Reprobate, affirming that she cannot repent ; whereto I answer, that the Accuser is a Calumniator, and a manifest Liar, for he is never able to prove that at any Time I have said that she could not repent ; but I have said, and yet say, that Pride and Repentance abide not in one Heart of any long Continuance.

“ What Title she has, or ever had to this Realm, and to the Authority thereof, I list not to enter in Contention. How she was dejected from it, let the Estates answer.

“ What I have spoken against the Adultery, against the Murthers, against the Pride, and against the Idolatry of that wicked Woman, I spake not as one that entred in God's secret Counsel, but being one, of God's great Mercy, called to preach, according to his blessed Will, revealed in his holy Word, have oftner than once pronounced the Threatenings of his Law against such as have been of Counsel, of Knowledge, of Assistance, or Consent, that innocent Blood should be

shed.”¹ “No,” added he at the end of his apology, “*Mary Stuart* never was a Queen in my Opinion, and I am sure she is none now; nor shall I ever be forced against the Light of mine own Conscience, to acknowledge her hereafter instead of our Sovereign the King, since God and the People of this Land have laid her justly aside for her crying Sins.”²

Mary, only a little better from a dangerous illness, was sorely grieved by those seditious acts, and vainly sought to bring a little quiet to Scotland. She wrote first to the Duke of Alva, and then to the Pope,³ hoping to get some help from them. Encouragement did not fail her, but assistance was not easily got, and then it seldom reached its destination. Norfolk had a detailed memoir handed to the Pope, the King of Spain and the Duke of Alva, telling those illustrious personages in what plight the Catholics of Great Britain were, but was none the better for it.⁴

Yet that cause, desperate as it looked, gained numerous partisans even in England. The most of the English lords, influenced by Norfolk, or urged on by their own convictions, had resolved to fight for her;⁵ in so far as Norfolk had the idea of putting himself at their head, to re-establish Catholicism in the two kingdoms.⁶ That great idea, if carried out, might have spared England many barren strifes. But, through the heedlessness of some, the cowardice of others, and an amazing amount of laziness which often destroys the best plans, the friends were found wanting. Norfolk was left alone as before, and those fine projects fell to the ground. The Scottish rebels plotted less and dared more.

Where the Leven falls into the Clyde, in one of the most hilly districts of central Scotland, there rises, from a marshy plain, a rock, isolated in the midst of the flat country that surrounds it; bare, barren, and steep, battered by the wind and the storm, more than five hundred feet high, and so steep that it seems inaccessible. From whatever side it is looked upon, there is nothing to be seen but blocks of stone heaped on one another, here and there, and overhanging the base of the rock, sometimes more inclined, but never less precipitous: a gigantic wall which seems to reach the sky. That rock has two unequal tops, rounded in the shape of paps, and looks like a sentry

¹ Craufurd's Memoirs, note, 165, 166.

² Craufurd's Memoirs, 167.

³ Instructions given to Ridolfi.—Prince Labanoff, III., 221 sq.

⁴ Prince Labanoff, III., 234-249.

⁵ Out of sixty-four lords, forty were favourable, eighteen neutral, and six only were hostile.—Prince Labanoff, III., 251.

⁶ Apuntamientos, 357.

placed by nature in front of the Highlands to guard them. On that very steep rock there is a castle of poor architecture ; but the position and elevation of it make it very important. One very narrow path, partly hewn out by the hand of man, partly wrought by nature, leads to the fortress. The two paps are joined by walls, the foundations of which show in several places great antiquity. Nature and genius have done all to strengthen the place ; art nothing to make it beautiful. In former days paltry buildings, built on old and very broad foundations ; now-a-days, elegant little houses, good had they been in the plain, but out of place on that height, degrade the place rather than deck it. Such was, in the sixteenth century, and such is, at present, Dunbarton Castle. Captain Crawford, of Jordan Hill, a very bold man,¹ resolved to take it, and did so without striking a blow.

From its position, walls, and garrison, the castle was thought impregnable, being, along with Edinburgh, the only important place that held out for the Queen. The Clyde, which flowed at the foot of it, made it very useful for the landing of foreign troops : those were so many temptations for one to take it, and so many inducements for the holder to defend it. An old degraded soldier went and offered himself as a guide to the rebels. The proposal he made to them, to let them into the place without cost, was at first taken coldly ; but as all was to be gained, and nothing lost, by pressing the Castle, they agreed to it, after the deserter had shown his plan of attack. The next day they took with them ladders, ropes and everything needed to scale the rock and walls ; they seized upon the approaches, and in the evening, Crawford left Glasgow at the head of a band of strong and warlike men. He reached Dunbarton three hours after mid-night : there was no moon, and the dark night was made darker by a friendly fog.

The plan of attack was as strange as the cause which had led to it. The ladders were put up at the steepest place, as it was more than likely the fort would be less guarded in the portion which nature itself defended. The besiegers in their hurry leaned the first ladder against the rock, but it was upset with those upon it. Lest they should have another mischance, Crawford and his guide scaled the height at the risk of their lives. They reached with difficulty a tree which grew in a cleft of the prodigious rock ; they fastened a ladder to it, and the ascent was

¹ M. Dargaud says of that warrior : "A la lueur d'une lampe militaire suspendue à l'un des piliers de sa tente, il feuilletait le livre

sacré (la Bible) avec son poignard." What a writer that M. Dargaud is !

begun anew. An unforeseen accident again came to check their progress. A soldier fainted, and lay helpless on the ladder. All those who had not yet gone up stopped. To throw the soldier down would have been barbarous, to step over his body, dangerous: a thought struck them; they bound him firmly to the ladder, turned it, and went on again. When they had reached a sort of very narrow esplanade, made at the top of the rock by a hollow in the walls, they rested for a while. The day was beginning to dawn: time was precious. They hastened to cross the rampart, and shortly after they were in the fort.

Silence reigned there, for the garrison was asleep: the besiegers could therefore take breath before beginning the attack. A sentry, hearing the noise which the march of so great a number of men must needs make, announced the danger. The rebels no longer hesitated; clamour succeeded silence. "Darnley! Darnley! God and the King!" was shouted by one and all of Crawford's band. The alarm was given; the soldiers started up from their sleep: fright seized them, and they fled half naked in all directions, dread preventing them from taking their arms. Confusion was among them, but what was the matter, who were the enemies, or whither they should flee, no one could tell; the boldest tried to rally and seek for a leader, but finding none, they disbanded, hid or took to flight. The commander of the castle, more dead than alive at seeing himself in such danger, had quickly gone down the rock, jumped into a boat, and sailed towards Argyllshire, leaving his wife, Vêrac, the French ambassador, and the Archbishop of St Andrews, in the hands of the enemy. ¹

When the garrison learned who were attacking and when it knew the state of affairs, it surrendered without resistance, and the besiegers held the citadel. Vêrac and Lady Fleming were well treated in their captivity; but the same cannot be said of the Archbishop of St Andrews. That unfortunate man had everything against him; his title, his attachment to the Queen, his personal merit, and even his name of Hamilton, made him particularly the enemy of Lennox. He died wretchedly in spite of his innocence. Dragged to Stirling, they endeavoured without success to convict him of having had a hand in the murder of the King and the Regent. The proofs brought forward disproved themselves; but led by passion and the thirst for revenge they condemned him to be hanged and quartered. He is the first bishop of Scotland who died in that

¹ Herries' Memoirs, 131 sq.; Craufurd's Memoirs, 173; Diurnal of Occur., 202 sq.; Bannat. Memor., 104 sq.

dishonourable way ; the Regent saw in him a rival, and the Protestants an enemy : that explains his sad fate.¹

The King's party triumphed, and those, who on the Queen's side at first had most confidence, began to doubt. But Edinburgh still held out. The fortress being commanded by the intrepid Kirkaldy, who had strongly espoused the Queen's side after the death of the Regent Moray. The more desperate her cause, the more boldness and stubbornness he showed in defending it. He had been able to get together a small body of troops, and provision the castle. An attack was expected ; but all was ready for resistance. The mutineers who filled the town had been overpowered and disarmed, the steeple of St. Giles was provided with a battery of cannon, and the gates and ramparts were fortified.² The Queen's lords having now no other shelter than this, had resolved to defend it to the last. The Duke of Chatelleraut, Huntly, Hume, Herries and several other men of note, joined Kirkaldy with troops who were kept up by the aid of a small subsidy from France. Morton followed them, and went to hold Leith ; each day thenceforth witnessed some skirmish. Edinburgh soon looked like a sacked town ; the outskirts were ravaged, and the city, placed between the fire of the Castle and that of the besiegers, was riddled with grape shot. The cannon kept belching forth flames, and the balls fired from the two sides were sent into the districts where enemies were thought to be.³ Civil war was within, and the ministers instead of trying to bring about peace, embittered men's minds by refusing to pray for the Queen.

The reverses were balanced by the victories, and the warlike ardour slackened by degrees ; each of the two factions making use of that lull to hold a Parliament. The King's partisans met in a barn outside of Edinburgh ; the Queen's, in the town where they were masters. They accused each other, each condemning and outlawing the

¹ Corresp. diplom., IV., 69. The following Latin distich was written on the gibbet on which he died :—

*Cresce diu felix arbor semperque vireto ;
O utinam semper talia poma feras.*

On the morrow this other distich was found :

*Infelix pereas arbor ; sin forte virebis
In primis utinam carminis auctor eat.*

The latter poet was, it is said, somewhat unfortunate. Condemned to death with his son-in-law, he expired on the same gibbet.

His enemies consecrated the two following verses to his memory :—

*Crevit, ut optabas, ramis felicibus arbos,
Et fructum nobis te generumque tulit.*

John Barclay was right when he said :
"Nunquam musæ delicatius habent quam
cum in Scotos inciderent."

² Herries' Memoirs, 134.

³ The monster cannon which is now seen in Edinburgh Castle, shot on that occasion, during two hours and a half, twenty-four three-hundred-pound balls. It was the largest gun of the period. It is known by the name of Mons Meg.

other for high treason.¹ The entire country took up the same line of conduct, and the whole of Scotland was divided into two camps, which, under the name of King's men and Queen's men, made it their business to hate each other. Private hatreds broke out; revenge hid itself under the cloak of religion and of policy that it might gain its ends. Those who spoke the language of good sense and peace had to bear all the anger of the rival factions. As they could not come to an understanding on either hand, they put off the holding of the parliament till the end of August, and turned their eyes towards England. The scenes which were going on there were somewhat suspicious and scandalous; craft was mingled with violence, and men's minds were excited as much as in Scotland. Great pain is felt in giving such accounts; an unspeakable melancholy overwhelms the historian who, without malice as well as without indolence, seeks to fathom those stormy times. He meets everywhere headstrong, deep and untamable hatreds, everywhere cunning, perjury and crime: against his will he dreads what may be coming, and is afraid of the St. Bartholomew and those other fierce hates which shed so much blood.

In England no one was safe. Elizabeth, tired of pleasures and intrigues, had become very mistrustful. Cecil, created Baron Burghley, together with the favourite Leicester and some men of that stamp, had alone the privilege of approaching her without danger, and they, even, were often obliged to put up with the whims of her hasty temper.

Suspensions of a conspiracy founded upon various documents which had been found, sent Bailly and the Bishop of Ross to prison; spies were encouraged, so were informers, and tortures were used to wring the truth from poor wretches. The barbarous ages had returned. All Bailly's coolness was required to turn away Elizabeth's anger from Norfolk's head. He asserted that Norfolk had nothing to do with the affair, and, to the very last, declared that the papers seized, touched only Mary and the ambassador of Spain. The Bishop had also to undergo several examinations before Sussex, Burghley, Sadler and Mildmay. He stoutly denied the charge of ingratitude and rebellion, and said that there was no question of Elizabeth in his plans, his sole object being to obtain help in men and money, to defend the Scottish interests of his Sovereign, and beat down the rebels. He was sent

¹ Diurnal of Occur., 214, 220, 239. Craufurd's Memoirs, 183. Corresp. Diplom. IV., iii. Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 12th June, III.—285-293; Bannat. Memor., 141-170; Memoirs of Kirkaldy, xx.-xxiii.

back to prison.¹ Elizabeth took her revenge by sending aid to those of the Scots who were faithful to England,² and spread the report that the King of France was changing his religion.³

That fact shows the degree of deceit which had been reached. It is true that in that respect the Court of France was scarcely more reserved than the English one. 'The negotiations for the marriage of Elizabeth with the Duke d'Anjou⁴ had so thoroughly displeased the Prince that he grounded his refusal on the public prostitution of her who was proposed to him for wife.⁵ The result of all that was to do away with any little good feeling which lingered on either side.

Mary was more calm though not less anxious; she mourned and pined away, hoping against hope. She knew that Elizabeth coveted Scotland, and feared that, once mistress of that country, she might put the royal family out of the way. It was while under that painful impression that she wrote from Sheffield: "I do not fear so much for my life, which I know she would take from me the moment she had secured my kingdom, as for the desolation and ruin of those who are my obedient subjects; those she would hand over to my traitors and rebels, excited and enraged against them; my son should be at her mercy, and what might become of him, God alone knows. The regret at seeing before her a legitimate heir to that which, against all divine and human right, she possesses, might bring upon the child treatment as cruel as the mother has suffered. God forbid that the Crown which, for so many centuries, has remained with the blood from which

¹ Murdin's Papers, 19-32; 2d Examination, 31st October, 32-38; 3d Examination, 3d Nov. 41-45; 4th Examination, 6th Nov. 46-54; 5th Examination, 60, 61. The Bishop of Ross to Mary Stuart, 8th Nov., Teulet II., 427; Lesley's Diary, Bannat. Club Miscell., III., 120.

² Corresp. diplom. IV., 215, 244. Marie Stuart to la Mothe Fénelon, 12th June.—Prince Labanoff III., 282.

³ The same to the same, 28th June, Ibid. 295.

⁴ It is curious to read in the CLV. despatch of la Mothe Fénelon, the sentiments of Elizabeth towards the Duke d'Anjou. There are strong passages. Corresp. diplom. III., 438 sq. In another audience the ambassador of France says to Elizabeth: "Qu'elle auroit bien à faire à s'excuser envers Dieu et le monde, si elle frustrait ses subjectz de la belle postérité qu'elle leur pouvoit bailler et qu'ilz attendoient d'elle pour les gouverner" Corresp.

diplom. III., 451. An answer to the exclamation of Elizabeth when some one objected to her marriage on account of disparity of age: "Comment suys-je pas encores pour luy satisfaire!" Ibid. 440, cf. III., 460 sq. 467, IV., 186, 196.

⁵ "Mon fils m'a fait dire par le Roy," writes Catherine de Médicis, "qu'il ne la veut jamais espouser, quand bien elle le voudroit, d'autant qu'il a tousjours si mal ouï parler de son honneur et en a veu des lettres escriptes de tous les Ambassadeurs qui y ont esté, qu'il penseroit estre deshonné et perdre toute la reputation qu'il pense avoir acquise." Corresp. diplom. supplém. 179. The Duke d'Anjou, according to the ambassador of Spain, had said "Yo estoy el mas contento hombre del mundo de haver escapado de casar con una puta publica." Don Frances de Alava to Philip II., 11th May. Teulet, V., 89. I do not translate.

I spring, should be handed over to another of so doubtful and uncertain legitimacy. I should more gladly choose death, yet that must not hinder my friends from aiding me in my need.”¹

Mary Stuart's fears were not vain. Her side fought successfully enough against her enemies leagued with the English;² but it was to be feared that if left to itself, unaided by either men or money, it might be overcome: courage is not easily kept up when there is no hope. The best conceived plans and the grandest projects failed in their effect. A sort of fatality hung over that luckless band of men, and cramped their efforts and those of their friends. Though forlorn, they still relied on France. The King, indeed, sent them, under the command of Chesein, a ship laden with provisions and money, but that ship fell into the hands of the English, and thus became more hurtful than useful to those for whom it was meant.³

That mishap seems to have occurred only to add, if possible, to the despair of the Queen of Scots. Any woman, less Christian than she, would have given way to her grief. Nothing was wanting: the penury of her friends, the persecutions which they endured, the ill-luck of Chesein, the imprisonment of her ambassador, the defection of her party, and the projects of Elizabeth were grounds enough for despair. Nevertheless, supported by her faith and the testimony of her conscience, she stood fast. Her sorrowings only make her the more interesting, by showing that she felt, like any other, the extent of her misfortune. Whilst Elizabeth was talking of poisoning her,⁴ the gentle victim was embroidering with her own hands the fine brocades which were to lend brilliancy to her rival.⁵

It was her duty to be particularly careful lest she should give her adversaries any reason to suspect her fidelity. She was closely watched: her acts were spied, and she had scarcely freedom of speech. “I am so observed,” she wrote, “and all those who are near me, that what I write or cause to be written must be done by stealth; and, for fear of surprise,

¹ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 12th June.—Prince Labanoff, III., 286.

² Corresp. diplom., IV., 111, 121, 137, 139, 172. The Cardinal de Lorraine wrote in the course of the year to the Marshal de Secondigny (Brissac): “Je n'entends point comme on endure que l'Anglois conquête l'Escosse; car de votre temps et du mien on eut dit qu'il y avoit de l'asnier: je confesse que je n'y entends plus rien.”—Biblioth. de Rouen; MSS. de Gaignières, portefeuille Leber 5716.

³ The loss of money amounted to 18,000 crowns. The ambassador, on hearing of that loss, sent into Scotland 2000 crowns, which were also seized.—Corresp. diplom., IV., 185, 188, 226, 227; Herries' Memoirs, 138.

⁴ Divers letters of Q. Mary.—Prince Labanoff, III., 271, 285, 338; Corresp. diplom., III., 392.

⁵ Mary Stuart to Elizabeth.—Prince Labanoff, III., 75, et passim.

hourly expecting a visit or a searching of my coffers, I instantly cause the minutes of the cyphers to be burned, and, as a general rule, I should be unable to have duplicates of them drawn out.”¹ That supervision, however close, did not debar the captive from finding means to correspond with her partisans, and to communicate her counsels to them. Her hope lay in France. With men and money, one might gain in Scotland great advantages—one might muster in a body the friends whom fear or poverty had dispersed, and throw strong garrisons into Edinburgh and Inchkeith Castle; thence rule the country and pacify it, by rushing unexpectedly on the enemy, retire within the walls if they were in too great number, and wait and choose an opportunity to sally forth again with a bold front.² While the Queen liked to busy herself with those strategic calculations, time seemed to pass more quickly, and her captivity to be more bearable.

The men of her party well deserved that she should often think of them. Lethington and Kirkaldy, though quite destitute, proved the amount of energy which the defence of a good cause can call up: attempts had been made to bribe them with money; but they were useless; it had also been tried to frighten them, but with as little success; they alone upheld the rights of the Queen and prevented her friends from joining the Royalists.³ Their Parliament held in August opposed sentence against sentence, at the risk of irritating the King's people, who looked upon them as enemies and traitors; and, in spite of the difficulties, they almost gained brilliant triumphs.

The King's lords assembled at Stirling, and thought they were in perfect safety; their number, their credit, and the strength of the Castle were, according to them, strong guarantees that nothing could come to disquiet them in so peaceful a retreat. Festivals and pleasures had come after the solemnity of parliamentary condemnations. Kirkaldy undertook to put an end to those amusements, and, if it were possible, to get rid of the King's party by smiting it to the ground. He wished to command the expedition in person. He changed his mind when his friends showed him that all the hopes of the Queen and her party centred in him, and that he ought not to endanger the common cause by risking his life. He yielded to their wishes, and gave the command of a troop of four hundred men to Claude Hamilton, the Earl of Huntly, and the brave Scott of Buccleuch.

¹ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 28th August.—Prince Labanoff, III., 350.

² Prince Labanoff, III. and IV., *passim*.

³ *Diurnal of Occur.*, 206, 209, 212, sq., *passim* and almost throughout to page 247.

The better to cover their march, they bent their steps first towards Hamilton, then, turning to the right, they passed Graham's Dike, and were soon in sight of Stirling. Without stopping to examine the town, they hastened to enter into it, lest they should give the enemy time to assemble. It was four o'clock in the morning, and all were asleep. Most of the nobles who had arrived for the holding of the Parliament, not being able to find quarters in the Castle, had taken up their lodging in town. The soldiers rushed on their houses, broke open the doors, and seized Argyll, Glencairn, Cassillis, Eglinton, Montrose and more than fifty men of note. Morton gave more trouble: he took up his position in his house and kept within; the soldiers set fire to the buildings, and the flames forced him to surrender.¹

If the besiegers had retired with their prisoners, the King's party would have been very much endangered; unfortunately every soldier left his chiefs to go and pillage the houses and the shops. The Earl of Mar, who had had leisure to look about him, came out of the Castle with forty men, and opened a violent fire on the scattered aggressors. The parts were changed. Terror seized the victors; they handed over their prisoners; some surrendered; the rest sought safety in flight. The only two who perished were the Regent and an officer in the King's party, who tried to defend him.²

That plan, so well conceived, and so happily executed, ended in nothing, from want of discipline: Kirkaldy had the glory of boldness, without reaping its profit. That was on the 3d of September 1571.

¹ Bannat. Memor., 183, 184; Herries' Memoirs, 140; Diurnal of Occur., 247, 249. Vêrac to la Mothe Fénelon, 7th Sept. —Teulet, II., 425.

² Letter from Vêrac to la Mothe Fénelon.—Teulet, II., 425-427. Lethington and Kirkaldy to W. Drury, Sept. 6th.—State Paper Office; Craufurd's Memoirs, 203, sq.; Spottiswoode, II., 164, 165; Memoirs of Kirkaldy, 280-285.

CHAPTER XVI.

1571—1572.

REGENCY OF THE EARL OF MAR—STRUGGLES IN SCOTLAND—MARY STUART ENCOURAGES HER SERVANTS—DISCOVERY OF NORFOLK'S CONSPIRACY—CONDUCT OF THE BISHOP OF ROSS—SUSPICIONS ATTACHING TO THE AMBASSADOR OF FRANCE—MARY STUART'S DESPAIR—BUCHANAN'S PAMPHLET—LEAGUE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND—THE SCOTTISH WAR—CONTINUATION OF NORFOLK'S TRIAL—PETITION ADDRESSED TO ELIZABETH—DEATH OF NORFOLK—MARY STUART'S EXAMINATION—WEAKENING OF HER PARTY—EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND—ST BARTHOLOMEW—NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE MARRIAGE OF ELIZABETH WITH THE DUKE D'ALENÇON—ELIZABETH'S DESIGNS ON MARY—CONSENT OF THE EARL OF MAR—HIS DEATH.

AFTER the death of Lennox, the English party did all it could to have the Earl of Morton, whom it had long had in its pay,¹ appointed to the Regency; but the States, at that period of quarrels and civil war, cast their eyes on the Earl of Mar, whose prudence and peaceful nature were well known. He was elected; yet, for all that, peace was not restored in Scotland. The two factions, excited by their victories, or by their misfortunes, were thirsting for war while expressing a desire for peace. The King's party obtained from England, at the price of treason or to the detriment of their honour, the help which they required; yet they could not prevail. Adam Gordon held the North in check; the Hamiltons were masters in the West; Lord Herries and Ker of Fernyhirst kept down the South; the Queen's partisans rose everywhere; and if the enemy advanced as far as Edinburgh, it was only to get beaten by the Earl of Huntly.²

The Queen of England, irritated at seeing the King's party, whom she supported, weakened by reverses, vented her anger on the servants of the Queen of Scots. Archibald Beaton, Douglas and some others were obliged to return to their homes. That new persecution caused Mary more grief than the numberless vexations which she had endured until then. "In seeing what is prepared against me," she said, "I can expect

¹ Meville's Memoirs, 243.

² Spottiswoode, II., 169. Aguilon to Philip

II., 17th December.—Teulet, V., 96; Tytler,

III., 342; M. Mignet, II., 170.

nothing but death, with which I have been so much threatened.”¹ That unhappy Princess, however, found in herself sufficient strength to encourage her servants. “My faithful and good servants,” she wrote to them, “as it has been the will of God to visit me with so much adversity, and now with this close imprisonment and banishment of you, my servants, from beside me, I render thanks to the same God, who has given me strength and patience to endure it; and I pray the good God that He be willing to grant you a like grace, and that you may console yourselves, since your banishment is for the good service which you have done me, your Princess and mistress. . . . I recommend to you the faith in which you have been baptised and taught in my company, having remembrance that outside of Noah’s ark there is no salvation. . . . Secondly, I command you to live in friendship and holy charity towards one another, and to bear one another’s imperfections; and now, being separated from me, to aid yourselves mutually with the means and graces which God has given you.”²

Mary Stuart was fated to shed tears until the end of her life, and her cause was to bring misfortune on all those who should engage in its defence. God gives by times great lessons to humanity: whether He chastises tyrants or allows them to prosper; whether innocence be calumniated or recognised, He ever has His views. It seems as if He had wished, in England, to confound the Catholics by the extent of their disasters, and blind the Protestants by the swiftness and certainty of their successes. Born the day before, those innovators were all-powerful on the morrow: the Catholics were forced to hide; and if any one dared to speak out, it was at the peril of his life. Protestantism and Catholicism, at the period which occupies us, seem to have personified themselves in two women: the one hard-hearted, haughty and capricious, making a show of virtues, worshipped, and always happy; the other, gentle, humane, beautiful as the proscribed religion, slandered like it, and destined to die like it: the one a tyrant—the other a martyr, faithful images indeed of the two religions.³

¹ Mary Stuart to la Mothe Fénelon, 18th September 1571.—Prince Labanoff, III., 376; Corresp. diplom., IV., passim and 233, 236, 242. The persecution was so great, according to la Mothe Fénelon, that Elizabeth had decreed “ne vouloir qu’on parle plus icy aulcunement pour elle.”—*Ibid.*, 238. In a letter written at the same period to the Regent of Scotland, Elizabeth complains in bitter terms of Mary Stuart’s ingratitude!—Bannat. Memor., 193.

² Mary Stuart to her banished servants, 18th September, Prince Labanoff, III., 378-382.

³ I do not pretend here to accuse the Protestants; they are generally better than the doctrine which they profess. I have more than once had occasion to meet, in Germany, England and Scotland, persons who piqued themselves on erudition, and who had a very erroneous idea of Catholicism. They reproached the Catholics with believing in

Mary did not know why her servants were taken from her; no doubt, on seeing such a wanton increase of severity, she sought what might be the cause of it. Her conscience reproached her with nothing. She was surrounded by mystery, and was a prey to all uncertainties. Notable changes had taken place in her cause, and imprudent friends, by wishing to serve it too well, hurled it into ruin.

A sum of money sent by the ambassador of France to the partisans of Mary Stuart in Scotland¹ threw light upon a conspiracy. The bearer, instead of handing the money to Bannister, the Duke of Norfolk's steward, as he had been ordered, delivered it to Lord Burghley, with the letters which accompanied the parcel. A certain number of persons were compromised; Hickford and Barker, the Duke's secretaries, and Bannister, his steward, were at once arrested.

Hickford revealed the secret, and did so without any seeming reluctance; much more, he indicated the places where were concealed the cyphers which his master had told him to burn. Barker and Bannister were less easily managed; threats and tortures were used to wring confessions from them.² The Bishop of Ross and the Duke of Norfolk were compromised by Barker's declaration; and the Duke, examined at first in his own palace, where he was kept prisoner, was taken a second time to the Tower.³ His entrance had all the appearance of a

absurdities. I beg them not to judge too lightly: that is the only advice which I take upon myself to give them in this work. I warn them, at the same time, not to trust the books of propagandists circulated by the two sides, but to study for themselves the lives of the great reformers, Luther, Calvin and Henry VIII. It is impossible, after that, to admit that God has made use of such men to reform His holy religion: the Reformation was a religious insurrection; the lives of the reformers insulted morality and disgraced humanity. The English Protestants have a right to reproach the Catholics with the reign of Bloody Mary. I reprobate those executions with as much sincerity as they, and am unable to tell all the horror with which they inspire me: religion is learned, but cannot be imposed. I shall merely observe, without stopping at the declamations customary on such occasions, that Calvin condemned Servet to death; that Bèze taught *ex professo* that heretics should be handed over to the civil judge; that Cranmer inserted the same clause in his code of ecclesiastical discipline; that Luther himself, who

seems less wicked, uttered, in the midst of his drunken-monk conversations, excessively intolerant words; that Knox was persecution incarnate; and that his disciples, the Regents of Scotland, burnt more persons as witches (Pitcairn's Trials and Diurnal) than the tribunals of the Inquisition. I do not despair to see England and Scotland, which abound in men who are really learned, lose much of their attachment for the Reformation. If ever those two countries return to Catholicism, they will do so only by passing through scepticism, which cruel malady has corrupted my poor country and is about to attack them.

¹ Corresp. diplom., IV., 226, 229; Lesley's Negotiat., 170.

² The gentle Elizabeth wrote to Thomas Smith, "We warrant you to cause them both (Barker and Bannister) or ether of them to be brought to the raik . . . and to find the tast therof untill they shall deale more playnly or untill yow shall thynk mete."—Ellis, I., ii., 261. The confessions of Hickford, Barker and Bannister are inserted in Murrin's Papers, 67-147.

³ Lesley's Negotiations, 169-175.

triumph. The people had no sooner learned the sad news, than they ran to the Tower, "to see him and salute him, and tell him loudly that he was more an honest man and a faithful subject of their Queen than those who accused him, and that they prayed God to preserve his innocence, and to confound those who sought his death."¹

The Bishop of Ross, taken from Ely to London, had also an examination to undergo before the Lord Mayor, as well as before the Council. His design was to keep silent. He began by pleading his position as ambassador, believing he could shield himself under that title.² That reply displeased the Council. He was informed that the advocates of the Crown had decided that an ambassador who took part in a conspiracy lost his position, and was to be treated as a common subject.³ To show that they had resolved to carry out that decision, they threatened him with the severest tortures if he would not make a confession. He was silent, and was taken back to the Tower.

Two days later, there was a fresh examination. Lesley then saw how matters stood; dissimulation was thenceforward useless. Burghley knew the steps which Ridolfi had taken with the Pope, the King of Spain and the Duke of Alva; he knew the share which each had had in the conspiracy; to deny the facts was to show very bad sense, and to irritate a powerful enemy. He confessed all frankly.⁴

The accomplices were numerous: the Earls of Arundel and Southampton, Lord Cobham and his brother Sir Thomas, the sons of the Earl of Derby, Henry Percy and Thomas Stanley, were already arrested; and search was being made for other lords more or less compromised.⁵ The ambassador of France was closely watched, and it was made impossible to correspond with Mary Stuart; the Spanish ambassador left England.⁶ Burghley looked to everything with the greatest care, extorted, or paid for information, and was active in getting up Norfolk's trial.

That trial troubled England as much as a civil war could have done; it seemed as if terror were in the atmosphere, and as if every one breathed it with the air. "The watch is increased by day and night," wrote the ambassador of France, "throughout the towns in the principal parts of

¹ Corresp. diplom., IV., 235.

² Lesley to Mary Stuart, 8th November.—Teulet, II., 428.

³ Lesley's Negotiations, 189. His letter to Mary—Teulet, II., 429.

⁴ Lesley to Mary, loc. cit. Cf., the long dispatch of the Duke of Alva to Philip II.—

Teulet, V., 77 sq. Prince Labanoff, III., 387.

⁵ Lesley's Negotiat., 176; Prince Labanoff, III., 357; Corresp. diplom., IV., 248, 261.

⁶ Corresp. diplom., IV., 314, 377, 382; Mary to la Mothe Fénelon.—Prince Labanoff, III., 391.

the kingdom, and on the roads too, so that there is nothing but fright and dread upon all sides; and those who are getting up the proceedings show fear no less than those against whom they are being got up.”¹

Mary Stuart felt those things severely, and in spite of the assurance which Burghley gave la Mothe Fénelon, and Killigrew gave Catherine de Médicis, that no harm would be done to her, the Earl of Shrewsbury, in whose keeping she was, grew anxious about her.² Her position was deplorable; her letters, when now and then received at the Court of France, drew forth tears from the least compassionate;³ and he who could read the following lines without emotion, ought indeed to be an object of pity:—“I am confined to my room; they intend to stop up the windows, and talk of making a false door, that they may be able to enter when I am asleep; entrance is to be forbidden to my people, except to some valets, and my other servants are to be removed. . . . I am a wretched captive, and I entreat the King, my good brother, to protect my kingdom, bound as he is by the old alliance, and lend a hand, without heeding such arrangements as are proposed by my enemies, to whom I have resolved to yield nothing as far as my state is concerned; I should rather lose all.”⁴

It would be wrong, however, to suppose from those last words that Mary, proud of her right and her virtue, had shut herself up within her own thoughts, faced Elizabeth's anger, and borne the tortures of her prison, without seeking to explain herself. She did so over and over again, but always in vain. She was reduced to ask from her triumphant rival only trifling things: such as to settle with one of la Mothe Fénelon's people, as to the rewards which were to be given to her banished servants, or to those who were still in her service, and to pay her debts. One of her letters to Elizabeth contained these remarkable words:—“Although I do not wish to importune you with that which concerns my position, which, knowing how far from dear it is to you, I entrust to the mercy of God, resolved to live patiently in adversity and in uncomfortable confinement as long as it shall please Him, and to die when it shall please Him also to deliver me from this unhappy world, wherein I know not how long it may be His will that I

¹ Corresp. diplom., IV., 262.

² Corresp. diplom., IV., 259, 262; Supplém., 283.

³ “La Reyna madre le dixo ayer que la Mota le havia embiado copia de una carta que la de Scocia le scrivia, tan miserable y lamentable que no la havia podido leer sin muchas

lagrimas.”—Despatch of Secretary Aguilon to Philip II., 29th Dec. 1571, Teulet, V., 99. The series of misfortunes which befel the captive may be followed in Lodge, vol. II., passim from 65 to 130.

⁴ Marie Stuart to la Mothe Fénelon, 7th Nov.—Prince Labanoff, III., 392 sq.

should remain, visited by illness caused by so many unaccustomed inconveniences, or by your cruel severity, I beg of you (forced thereto by my conscience) to let me have a priest of the Catholic Church, of which I am a member, to console me and teach me my duty ; which request being granted, I shall pray God, both in prison and at my death, to make your heart such as it may be agreeable to Him and salutary to you ; and if I am refused, I leave to you the burden of answering before God, for depriving me of the means of doing my duty, having duly entreated and requested it from you in whom lies the refusal or the permission.

“ I have yet another request to make, of little importance for you, but of deepest moment for me. It is, that it may please you, having pity on a distressed mother, from whom they have torn her only child and her only hope of future joy in this world, to permit me to write at least open letters to enquire as to the truth of news regarding him, and remind him of his sad mother ; so that, rejoicing at his good health, I may also recall to him his duty towards God and towards me, without which no human favour can profit him, for failing in one of those two commandments, God might forget him in all others.”¹ Mary was allowed neither priest nor leave to write to her son ; and, by an outrage which must have wounded her keenly, there was sent her, by the bearer of her own letter, Buchanan's foul pamphlet.²

Elizabeth was on the best of terms with the Court of France, for on both sides they dreaded the King of Spain, who screened his ambitious views behind religion. It was important that this monarch should see France and England united. A treaty between the two nations seemed necessary, were it only as a matter of form ; but great difficulties were in the way of any league whatever. The first arose from the difference of religions. Charles wished quietly to overlook that article, for fear of irritating the Pope and the Catholics ; Elizabeth was anxious that the parties should pledge themselves to support one another, even though attacked on account of their religion. They succeeded in coming to an understanding by introducing this general clause, “ for any cause whatsoever.” The second bore upon Mary Stuart. The King of France wished to include her in the treaty ; Elizabeth would not hear of it, believing she saw in Mary her most deadly enemy. That difficulty fell like the other before this ambiguous clause, “ that the present laws of Scotland should be maintained.” The treaty was signed at Blois,

¹ Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, 29th October.— Prince Labanoff, III., 389, 390.

² Mary Stuart to la Mothe Fénelon.— Prince Labanoff, IV., 5 ; Proofs, VI.

during the course of April 1572,¹ but Scotland gained nothing from it. Neither France nor England sought to quell the struggles which wasted that unhappy land. The sides represented by Morton and Kirkaldy had been for several months waging a furious war against each other. There was, in the first place, the siege of Edinburgh, ending in no gain, from the courage of those within the walls; then came a series of engagements in the open field, a thousand times more destructive than would have been a great battle. The fury of the parties increased with their losses and with the stubbornness of their adversaries. The help promised by France and Spain emboldened Kirkaldy;* the revolt in Ireland, while busying England, weakened Morton;—yet no one lost courage. Morton had destroyed the mills, and had placed troops here and there to keep provisions from reaching Edinburgh Castle; but the hatred was so violent, that this measure, capable of overwhelming Mary Stuart's friends, only irritated them. Morton had also erected in the direction of Leith a great gibbet, where he hanged in a mass all those who fell into his power. They did the same on the other side, and rivalled them in barbarity, until at length, broken down by hunger, and worn out with tortures, the two parties consented to an arrangement (4th May) which they broke a fortnight after, when the war became more and more exhausting.³

Norfolk's trial was approaching. Everything likely to ruin the Duke was collected most carefully; a long case was drawn out. When the time for examination had come, the prosecutor, in a lengthy speech, called upon Norfolk to answer at once, and without further preparation, the various accusations concerning persons, places, conversations and dates. All England knew the charges which were brought against the Duke, by the libels which had been spread;⁴ he alone, locked up in the Tower, debarred from all communication with the outside, was ignorant of the mass of crimes laid to his charge. Before his peers, now his judges, he was by no means put out; he asked to be confronted with his accusers, and, on being refused by the Council, denied their affirmations. His case was principally composed of three charges; his intended marriage with Mary Stuart, aspirant to the throne of England, his conspiracies with Ridolfi, and the money which he had sent to the Scots. Norfolk asked for an advocate; but meeting with a

¹ Digges' Papers, 180 sq.; Rapin Thoyras, VII., 340, 341; Corresp. diplom., IV., 368; V., 72, 76, 83.

² Corresp. diplom., IV., 418.

³ Corresp. diplom., IV., 247, 259, 266, 269, 273, 312, 337, 442, 457.

⁴ Corresp. diplom., IV., 261.

refusal,¹ he explained his conduct in a calm tone, as one who has a perfect command of himself.

To the first count he replied that the Queen of Scots was neither the rival nor the enemy of the Queen of England, seeing that she had ceased to use the English arms, and that she had often renounced her rights during Elizabeth's lifetime; in answer to the second, he confessed having spoken to Ridolfi, but only once, and only about money matters; accused, in the third count, of having sent money to the Scots, he replied that he had never sent any, although he had allowed his secretary to take charge of a certain sum for Lord Herries; and that he could not understand the last count at all, inasmuch as that lord was the faithful servant of Mary, a relative of Elizabeth.²

The debate was long and ended only at night-fall. The Lord Seneschal asked the Duke if he had anything further to say in his defence. "I hope in the justice of the laws," replied Norfolk. The Lord Seneschal then caused the Duke to be led away, and said to the peers: "You have heard how the Duke of Norfolk, accused of the crime of high treason of which he does not acknowledge himself guilty, entrusts himself to God and to your persons; it is now for you to decide whether he is so or not, and to speak in all conscience and honour."

The assembly withdrew to deliberate and soon returned into the first chamber. The Seneschal questioned the members of the jury one after the other: "My Lord," asked he of Delaware, "what say you, Is the prisoner guilty of these Treasons or not?"—"Guilty," he replied, putting his hand on his breast. The other Peers gave the same answer. "Thomas, Duke of Norfolk," said the Lord Steward, "thou hast been heretofore indicted of High Treason, and hast been arraigned upon the same, and hast pleaded Not Guilty, and hast put thyself upon thy peers; the lords, thy peers, have found thee Guilty: What hast thou to say, why I may not proceed to judgment?" The Duke answered: "The Lord's will be done; God be judge between me and my false accusers."

All the judges, hushing their hatred and their fanaticism, were silent; the edge of the axe, omen of death, had been turned towards the Duke, and the Earl of Shrewsbury could not contain his tears on reading the sentence: "Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, found guilty of high treason, in spite of him, and declared such by the peers shall be

¹ Camden, 217.

² Norfolk's Trial, Hargrave's State Trials,

I.; Lesley's Negotiations, 179, sq.; Murdin's Papers, 150-180.

had from hence to the Tower of London, thence shall be drawn through the midst of the streets of London to Tyburn, the place of execution, there shall be hanged, and being alive shall be cut down quick, his bowels shall be taken forth of his body, and burnt before his face, his head shall be smitten off, his body shall be divided into four parts or quarters; his head and his quarters to be set up where it shall please the queen's majesty to appoint; and the Lord have mercy upon him."¹

The Duke listened to the horrible sentence without growing pale, and kept cool the whole time. "My lords," said he, "This is the judgment of a Traitor, and I shall die as true a man to the Queen as any that liveth; you put me out of your company; I trust shortly to be in better company; only I beseech you, my lords, to be humble suitors to the queen's majesty for my poor orphan children, that it may please her to be good to them, and to take order for the payment of my debts, and some consideration of my poor servants."² Elizabeth hesitated a long time to put the Duke to death; three times she signed and destroyed the warrant of execution. Those who had some interest in Norfolk's death murmured at the delay.³

The Queen's illness in the month of March turned away attention from the trial and showed the rage which was felt against the Catholics, with whom Norfolk had joined; for, at the first report of the Sovereign's illness, the people, believing in poison, were driven by religious frenzy to declare, that if the Queen died, the Papists must be burned alive. When, at a later period, the cause of the indisposition was learned, and when it was proved that the misfortune proceeded from eating too much, the clamours died away, and the vows became less ardent.⁴

The Commons, agreeing with the Peers, begged more earnestly that the Duke of Norfolk be put to death. Their attitude induced Elizabeth to sign a new warrant of execution. The Queen, however, mitigated the sentence, and reduced it to simple beheading; this time she did not retract, because conspiracies to free the Duke from his prison had been found out, and many thought that was purposely done to hasten on the punishment. On the 2d of June, early

¹ Camden, II., 223.

² Camden, II., 224; Corresp. diplom., IV., 351; Sadler's Papers, II., 340, sq.

³ Corresp. diplom., IV., 377, 387, 391, 424. Murrin's Papers, a warrant by the Queen for the Execution of the Duke of Norfolk, 177, 178.

⁴ Gregorio Leti.—Life of Elizabeth, I., 490. Aguilon to Philip II., 23d March 1572.—Archives de l'Empire, Fonds de Simancas, liasse B, 32, No. 85; Teulet; Corresp. diplom., IV., 410-412.

in the morning, the commander of the Tower warned the Duke that his last hour had come. Norfolk hastened to make his last will and testament, distributed his effects, and placed himself entirely at the disposal of Alexander Nowel, Dean of St Paul's. He mounted the scaffold with a firm step, declared his innocence of the treason laid to his charge, and conversed peacefully with the Dean. The crowd observed a melancholy silence; they saw in him the gem of the English nobility, and relative of Elizabeth, and seeing that he was about to die, they could not restrain their tears. Sir Henry Lee gave a noble example of the power of friendship. Heedless whether his act should or should not be agreeable to Elizabeth, he mounted the scaffold, embraced the Duke, and asked for the prayers of the people in his favour: "The Duke of Norfolk," exclaimed he, "asks the aid of your prayers; be silent; it is not the time to affect him." Norfolk prayed, then rose and placed himself in the hands of the executioner.

The bystanders were becoming more and more moved; the headsmen himself regretted that he should have to cut off a head so noble. A cloth was handed to Norfolk with which he might cover his eyes. "Thanks," replied he, "I do not fear death." He knelt down and bent his head over the block; it fell with the first blow. The indifferent pitied him: Mary wept for him.¹

Elizabeth heard the news of his execution while she was with her counsellors; and instead of shedding tears, the hardened Queen uttered the following words in reference to the deceased, "We have cut the branches and the roots of Papism; the trunk remains; it must be reft in sunder lest new branches shoot forth."² The English ambassador was rather more energetic in comparing the royal captive to a viper warmed in the breast of England.³ People laboured to make public opinion hostile to the wretched Princess. But what, more than all else, shows the hatred felt against her and the need to discredit her, is the favour with which Elizabeth welcomed Buchanan's odious libel. Shameless pamphlets, attacking and slandering her honour, circulated freely; on all sides cries for her death arose against her: the Parliament itself asked for her execution;⁴ and this same Mary, of

¹ Howell's complete collection of State Trials, I., 132-135; Camden, II., 225, 226. Sir Ralph Sadler to Burghley, Ellis, II. ii., 329; Dargaud, *Vie de Marie Stuart*, 308.

² Gregorio Leti.—*Life of Elizabeth*, I., 498.

³ Teulet, *Papiers de Simancas*, V., 103.

⁴ Prince Labanoff. IV., 45; *Corresp. diplom.*, IV., 464, V., 2.

whom so much ill was said, astonished her keepers by her patience and magnanimity.¹

Norfolk's headless trunk was scarcely cold when the examination of the captive was proceeded with. Lord William Delaware, Sir Ralph Sadler, Bromley and Thomas Wylson were entrusted with the painful task. Mary objected to such a measure, and if she did consent to receive Elizabeth's commissioners, it was only as mere envoys, charged to negotiate with her, a Queen, as between one Princess and another.² The commissioners reproached her with having assumed the arms of England, with having thought of marrying Norfolk, with having entered into criminal relations with him, and with having plotted, together with the Kings of France and Spain, the Pope and other Catholic Princes, to overthrow Elizabeth; with having kept up a correspondence with Ridolfi, with having caused Elizabeth to be excommunicated, in short, with having given orders to her agents in France to publish that she was to be Queen of England to the exclusion of Elizabeth. Mary replied briefly and clearly to the charges made, and justified herself easily.³

The passions once let loose, were not easily curbed. Parliament believing its severity justified by patriotism, proved exacting, and laid aside the moderation which ought to have guided it. Elizabeth, finding her orders overstepped, feared, and with reason, too, that she might rouse Europe, if ever the report of such a scandal should spread. The French ambassador thought he could not keep silent any longer.⁴ Matters went so far that the Queen of England trembled for her own authority. The Puritans were the majority in the Parliament, and their audacity was betrayed by the bitterness of their language. Bible in hand, they breathed their spirit into the fickle rabble, and threatened to overthrow everything. They had reason to repent of it, for they not only did not obtain Mary's death, nor anything against her,⁵ but even saw themselves threatened. Two bills for regulating the form of worship had been passed in the lower House. Elizabeth, feeling hurt that anything

¹ Sir Ralph Sadler, keeper of the Queen of Scots, spoke in such high terms of Mary to Elizabeth, "que la dicte Dame a dict que cella estoit de divin, en la parolle et en la presance de la dicte Royne d'Escoce, que l'ung et l'autre contreignoit ses propres ennemys de dire bien d'elle."—Corresp. diplom., IV., 391.

² Mary Stuart to la Mothe Fénelon, 19th June.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 55.

³ The answeres of the Queene of Scotts.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 48, sq.; Camden, II., 229, 230; Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, I., 356, 359; Murdin's *Papers*, 218.

⁴ Smolett's *History*, book v., chap. vii., No. 15; Corresp. Diplom. *Dépêches*, 254, 255, 256, and *Tôme IV.*, 460.

⁵ Corresp. diplom. V., 42, 43.

should have been decided without consulting her, uttered against them such threats that terror reduced them to silence ; the bill, nevertheless, of exclusion from the Crown was considered valid against Mary.¹

Mary Stuart's party received a severe check from those different proceedings ; its greatest mainstay in England had been cut off, the number of its enemies had increased through Buchanan's pamphlet, and its Scottish partisans defended themselves with courage, but without success. An illustrious victim, the Earl of Northumberland, was also about to forfeit his head for his devotedness to Mary Stuart. Since his defeat, he pined away in Lochleven Castle, whither Moray had sent him. A year and a half, spent in affliction and in expectation, had brought about no change in his position. Yet his friends were not idle ; they were busily engaged with his ransom, but just as they were negotiating it, Morton, whose former friendship with Northumberland ought to have led him to conciliation, sold him to England for the sum of two thousand pounds.² The Earl was taken from prison at the end of May, and put aboard a ship, which, instead of taking him to Flanders, as he hoped, landed him at Coldingham. Taken to York, he had to answer a series of questions sent from London, and he was condemned without any other form of procedure. That high personage showed firmness after, as well as before, his condemnation ; proud of the cause for which he had fought, he defied, to the last, the grim furies of his enemies. On the scaffold he boasted himself a Catholic, and died praying. The itching-palmed Scots were generally blamed for meanly selling him.³

On the same day, in Paris, Admiral Coligny was, at the instigation of Catherine de Médicis, wounded by Maureval. It was the prelude of a fearful massacre. On the following day, 23d of August, the Huguenots, irritated that their leader had been fired at, uttered words of extreme violence. Under any other circumstance, matters might perhaps have gone no further ; but experience has long since shown what men can do in a moment of excitement. The assassinations of the Duke de Guise, the Marshall de St André, and the Constable de Montmorency, were still present to all minds ; and it was generally believed that if opportunity came, the Reformers would not hesitate to extinguish in blood

¹ Don Diego de Zuñiga to the Duke of Alva, Teulet, V., 107 ; Hume, *House of Tudor*, V., xvii ; Lingard, *History of England*, V., vi.

² Elizabeth to Lord Hunsdon, 16th April, State Paper Office, Scotland.

³ Camden, II., 238 ; *Diurnal of Occur.*, 299 ; Prince Labanoff, IV., 60 ; *Various Letters in Murdin's Papers*, 186, sq. ; *Morton's Papers*, 75 ; Teulet, II., 438 ; *Corresp. diplom.*, V., 118.

the hatred which consumed them.¹ The Queen, alarmed at those threats, assembled the King's Council in all haste, and the massacre was decreed.²

The 24th of August saw a sad sight: the populace massacring all, supposed to be heretics; Paris turned into a slaughter-house; honest people seized with terror, and the ambitious giving thanks to God that He had deigned to save the royal family.

It had been hoped to stay the massacre at that point; but it continued in spite of the efforts made to check it. Lyons, Rouen, Orleans and several other towns had their victims.³ About fifteen hundred Protestants succumbed to that brutal vengeance. It is useless to describe so many horrors: those barbarous scenes being too affecting to relate at length; let us rather study the causes of so lamentable an event.

The massacre did not spring from religious frenzy; the clergy and the enlightened Catholics making very great efforts to hinder the shedding of blood. It was all political. The hatreds which had been smouldering so long, burst forth like a fierce volcano.⁴ Coligny was the tool of England; he had encouraged the attacks against the ports of Havre and Dieppe; he had paid for the murder of the Duke de Guise, and had tried to arrange the same fate for the King of France.⁵ The Huguenots, as a party, were scarcely more faithful to their country. Elizabeth had made with them a treaty (1562), which pledged her to send them six thousand men to keep Dieppe and Rouen, and help them to take Havre.⁶ The French ambassador complained of the proceeding. Elizabeth deplored, as much as he did, those misfortunes; "but," said

¹ Louis Paris, Notice on l'Aubespine, xxxii., and Note.

² Lingard, History of England, II., Note, B B, at the end of the volume; Corresp. diplom., VII., despatch 117 and 129.

³ Corresp. diplom., V., passim, and 138, 146, 161.

⁴ The despatches of the Nuncio Salviati, published by Mackintosh, and analysed by Lingard, leave no doubt as to the non-intervention of the clergy in that unfortunate affair. The project was only political. The King of France in his proclamation of the 26th August said, "that this that is thus hapenit, was done be his expres commandement, and not for any caus of religione."—Bannat. Memor., 265. See also the frightful "Déclaration faicte par le Roy en sa Court de Parlement, le xxvi. Aost 1572;" Bibliothèque de Rouen, Sect.

Histoire de France, MS., No. 5736. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosmo I., wrote on the subject from Florence, 16th September 1572, a letter of congratulation; it begins with these words, "Scrisi con le mie precedenti a V. Ma^{te} Christ^{ma} in congratulatione de suoi felici successi, i quali quanto più considero, tanto più li trovo di momento però men' allegro di nuouo con lei, et in purgare et quietare il suo Regno ritorno a offerir mele con ogni mio potere."—MS. portfolio Leber, Biblioth. de Rouen, No. 5737.

⁵ Corresp. diplom., V. and VII. passim. The grievances with which the Huguenots were reproached are specially summed up in Tôme V., 144-146; William Cobbett, Letters on the Reformation, X., No. 270-291.

⁶ Rapin Thoyras, VII., 602.

she, "the troops were wanted in France to set free the King from his captivity."¹ The Huguenots were then, as it were, the pioneers of the English rule. Those considerations, though they do not justify the massacres, serve, however, to explain them.²

On hearing of that hellish crime, England and Scotland boiled with rage;³ and the most violent Philippics were launched against the Catholics from the Protestant pulpits. Anger and the spirit of vengeance soon inflamed all Europe. It was said, and generally believed, that the massacre had been decreed at the Council of Trent; the names of the princes and nobles who had approved of it⁴ were given; there followed a confederation of the various peoples of Germany, Switzerland, Flanders, England and Scotland, who, in case of need, could bring forty thousand men into the field against France.⁵

The St Bartholomew re-echoed throughout England. While the people, maddened by invectives, openly pursued the French ambassador with their insults, mingled with words of defiance and other indignities from those who bore arms,⁶ the Court, not less irritated, yet more composed, showed its displeasure after its own manner. The first audience asked for by la Mothe Fénelon was refused him, and when at length they deigned to grant him one, it was with dismal stiffness. Elizabeth was in her private chamber, amid her counsellors and the principal ladies of her court; all were in mourning, and kept the deepest silence. The Queen advanced a few steps to receive the ambassador, and having led him to the embrasure of a window, asked him if it was possible, that a Prince whom she loved and honoured, could be capable of such excesses. The ambassador befriended his master as much as he could, showing that the Huguenots were conspirators,⁷ that the admiral was a ringleader very much to be dreaded, and that the massacre was not premeditated.⁸ Elizabeth seemed reassured, and asked from the King only the

¹ "Propter Regis Christianissimi fratris nostri, Francorum Regis suorumque subditorum defensionem contra dictos inimicos nostros, dictum Regem detinentes veluti captivum cum Regina matre sua."—*Rymer Fœdera et Acta*, VI., iv., 117; *Mémoire d'Angleterre*, Teulet, II., 175.

² Catherine de Médicis to Philip II., 26th August 1572; *Archives de l'Empire*; Fonds de Simancas, liasse b. 34, No. 144.

³ The Countess of Northumberland to the Cardinal de Lorraine, 20th October; Teulet,

II., 441; Sandys, Bishop of London, to Burghley, 5th September; Ellis, II., iii., 23.

⁴ *Diurnal of Occur.*, 312.

⁵ Confederation among the various nations, &c.; Teulet, V., 113.

⁶ *Corresp. diplom.* V., 121, 137.

⁷ The King of France in his letter to Elizabeth (21st Sept.) said likewise: "Avons esté contrainct y lascher la main à nostre très grand regret pour éviter le danger éminent de la conspiration faicte en nostre personne et estat." *Suppl. à la Corresp. diplom.*, lettre cxxix. 354.

⁸ *Corresp. diplom.* V., 122, 144.

promise that, for the future, he should take the Protestants under his protection. Catherine de Médicis replied to Elizabeth that the King of France, like the Queen of England, recognised the principle of liberty of conscience, but that like her he also prohibited in his kingdom every other worship than that which he professed himself.¹

Elizabeth, no doubt dissatisfied with that explanation, took measures to have, at an early date, the opinion of her Parliament on the subject; meanwhile she fitted out ten war ships for service, sent them to Portsmouth to watch the channel and the Straits of Dover, put all the principal ports of England in a state of defence, victualled her ships and arsenals, stood stoutly by the Protestants of la Rochelle, and closely watched the English Catholics.²

Through those explanations the negotiations relative to Elizabeth's marriage with the Duke d'Alençon went on very slowly. Two serious difficulties, to say nothing of Queen Elizabeth's indecision, had until then shackled the efforts of the French envoys, de Foix and de Montmorency: the Duke was disfigured by small-pox, and was twenty-one years younger than the Queen of England.³ The massacre of the 24th of August almost brought to an end the contemplated alliance. They managed, nevertheless, to renew the project, for a while broken off. Elizabeth consented even to be the godmother of the young Princess of France, and a settlement might at length be hoped for.⁴ But the virgin Queen, not thinking seriously of wedding, wasted time, and fed those vain hopes only to keep France from thwarting her policy.⁵

While the Courts of France and England were hoodwinking each other, Mary Stuart saw her position grow more dangerous day by day. She knew she was more closely watched, and, badly treated before, her treatment now was worse, for she could not penetrate the cloud of mystery which enwrapped her existence, as no news reached her.⁶ That silence was of evil omen and foretold the storm. They were unjust enough in England to accuse Mary of complicity in the massacre of the 24th of August. The Bishop of London had publicly demanded

¹ Digges' "The Complete Ambassador," 244 sq.; Corresp. diplom., V., 146.

² Corresp. diplom. V., passim. and 119, 136, 148, 153-155, 162, 175, 198, 202, 207.

³ Corresp. diplom. V., 24, 52, 135.

⁴ Corresp. diplom. V., 195, 214, 225, VII., 399.

⁵ Corresp. diplom. IV., passim., 355 sq., V., 19, 44, 54, 61 passim.

⁶ The Historie and Life of Mary Queen of Scots, Udall, 238. Corresp. diplom. V., 183.

her execution ; ¹ and there was a talk of holding a Parliament to try her : her life was in danger.²

When the French ambassador, who well knew about the threats against the Queen of Scots, set forth to his master the sad position of the "*pouvre princesse*" of whom they contemplated "*parachever la ruyne*" little did he think that the position of which he drew so gloomy a picture was so desperate. Killigrew was in Scotland ; everybody knew that, but few knew the real reason of his mission. Some thought he was sent to bring Lethington and Kirkaldy to make peace with the Regent ; no one knew that he had gone to Scotland to ask for Queen Mary's blood. On his arrival in Edinburgh he saw much of the well-known enemies of the Queen ; he found a helper in Moray's former confidant, Nicholas Elphinston, and an unhoped-for aid from the harangues of old Knox.

From the pulpit, whither the Reformer had had himself carried, he launched forth, as was his wont, the thunders of his eloquence which this time alighted upon guilty heads. At the terrible accents of that voice, which no one could hear without shuddering, the people rose against "the atrocious murderer and arrant traitor who dared to call himself King of France," ³ and were bent on overthrowing all that, near or far, told of that country.

The secret instructions of the English envoy bore that the Queen of England had made up her mind to hand Mary over to the Scottish lords on three conditions : if they asked for her, if they pledged themselves to put her to death at once, and if they kept secret for ever that Mary was put to death either with her will or at her wish.⁴ To gain her ends, Killigrew was to stir up private hatred, to appeal to the religion and patriotism of the Scots, by showing them their brothers in love and religion shamefully massacred ; the Louvre, the Vatican and the Escorial beaming with joy and hope after that fatal day ; the peril of the Reformation ; so many cares and anxieties borne in vain through the conspiracy of papist Princes ; and the darkness of error ready again to enshroud Europe. . . . To those frightful pictures he was to add a sketch of Mary Stuart's life, to tell of her crimes, treacheries, and evil deeds ; to hint that the hour of justice when she must make atonement for her sins might be nigh ; that Elizabeth must be freed from the

¹ Bishop Sandys to Lord Burghley. Ellis II., iii. 25.

² Corresp. diplom. V., 133, 157, 176. Teulet, II., 441.

³ Vie de Knox. Musée des Protestants Célèbres, II., 132.

⁴ Prince Labanoff, IV., 62, 63.

uneasiness which she caused her ; that, although vengeance might overtake her in England, it was better that such should happen in Scotland ; and that people never could be safe while she lived either *here* or *there*.¹

Morton made up his mind to put Mary Stuart to death when the first hints were given to him ; but it was quite otherwise with the Earl of Mar. That honest Lord, who was ever considered a peaceful and noble gentleman, could not consent to such a barbarous and disgraceful act. His honesty embarrassed Killigrew, and caused delays which Burghley regretted. As a last shift Killigrew applied to John Knox, and, along with him, assembled the most influential Reformers, under the show of considering means to escape the dangers with which they were threatened by the Catholics. That "convention" rendered the Regent's position precarious, and, in spite of good sentiments, he sent the Abbot of Dunfermline to Killigrew with powers to treat of the "great matter" which formed the object of the negotiation. The Earls of Mar and Morton, the one against his will, the other gladly, consented to put their Queen to death, on condition that Elizabeth should take the young King of Scotland under her protection, that the sentence passed upon Mary should not be prejudicial to her son, that a defensive league should be concluded between the two kingdoms, that the Earls of Huntingdon, Bedford, and Essex should be present at Mary's execution with two or three thousand men ; that those same troops should thereafter be employed in reducing the Castle ; and finally that the Queen of England should pay all arrears due to the Scottish troops.²

The measures were agreed upon, and the conventions settled ; nothing was left but to hand over the victim. Two things opposed the carrying out of that shameful treaty, and for the time put a stop to those evil designs which were finally given up only two years later.³ The first was the avarice of the English government, which would not buy at so high a price the blood of the captive ; the second was the death of the Earl of Mar. Raised to the Regency, he had found himself mixed up with the conspiracies, but he never was cruel ; he had consented to

¹ Secret Instructions, Murdin's Papers, 224, 225. Various letters from Burghley to Killigrew, and their answers.—Tytler III., 348 sq., and Proofs and Illustrations, No. xxiv. A Disputation betwixt a Politicke and a Histor. concerning the committing of the Queen of Scottis in England. MS. in the Univer. of Edinburgh. That memoir, of which

a very faulty translation is inserted in Jebb's collection, was written on that occasion, as is clearly seen from several passages of the original text, omitted in the translation.

² Prince Labanoff, IV., 63, note. Tytler III., 352.

³ M. Mignet, Histoire de Marie Stuart, II., 178.

the death of her who had been his Sovereign and friend rather through timidity than through conviction ; he had not dared to go against Kiligrew, or separate himself from Morton whom he knew to be at once very passionate and very dangerous. When the pressure which those two personages exercised over him had disappeared along with their presence, and when calm reflection had made him see the dishonour which was about to blemish his life and the indelible stain which would accrue, through his baseness, to broad Scotland, he drew near to those of the Castle and endeavoured to rally them round the standard of the young King.¹ Kirkaldy showed himself favourable to the views of the Regent. He, also, was convinced that England, taking advantage of the follies of his fellow-countrymen, strove only to make them last. It mattered little to him to serve Queen or King, sure that if Mary should recover her liberty, the interests of mother and son would easily blend. The main point in his opinion was to wipe away those fierce feuds which under the misleading name of party, gave rise to so much woe. They understood one another, and secretly swore peace.²

Full of those noble thoughts, the Regent repaired to Edinburgh with the object of assembling the Parliament, and explaining that, in the then state of matters, an agreement between the Queen's friends and those of the King had become necessary. During a visit which he paid to Morton, on the following day, he was magnificently received, and left, it is said, poisoned, as Morton could find no other means of preventing the reconciliation.³

¹ Melville's Memoirs, 247.

² Craufurd's Memoirs, 238-241.

³ Corresp. diplom. V., 199 ; Rapin Thoyras, VII., 347. Smolett, book v, chap. vii., 181. Melville's Memoirs, 248.

CHAPTER XVII.

1572—1576.

GIGANTIC PROJECT OF PHILIP II.—RELATIONS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE—ELECTION OF MORTON—DEATH OF KNOX—TREATY OF PERTH—ATTACK, BOMBARDMENT AND SURRENDER OF EDINBURGH CASTLE—DEATH OF LETHINGTON—EXECUTION OF KIRKALDY—MORTON'S EXCESSES—CAUBERON IN SCOTLAND—THE PURITANS AGITATE ENGLAND—TROUBLES AMONG THE CLERGY OF SCOTLAND—ILLNESS OF THE PRINCE—LESLEY OBTAINS HIS FREEDOM—MORTON INCLINES TOWARDS FRANCE—LEAGUE OF THE MERCHANTS AGAINST MORTON—THE ENGLISH COVET THE PRINCE—CONDUCT OF LADY LENNOX—DANGERS WHICH THREATEN MARY—RIGOURS—ELIZABETH'S ANGER AGAINST LADY LENNOX—RECAL OF THE DUKE OF ALVA—CELESTIAL PHENOMENA—ELIZABETH'S ANGER—NEW PROJECTS OF THE KING OF SPAIN—DEATH OF THE CARDINAL DE LORRAINE—NEW SEVERITIES TOWARDS MARY—THE PRINCE'S LOVE FOR HIS MOTHER—MARY STUART'S TRANQUILLITY—HER RESIGNATION—HER AMUSEMENTS—MORTON'S IGNOBLE CONDUCT—DINNER OFFERED BY LEICESTER—ILLNESS OF BOTHWELL—HIS DECLARATION.

SPAIN had then at the helm a prince gifted with vast genius, shrewd in mind, bold in his undertakings, and the perfect ideal of the monarch in the sixteenth century. Proud, haughty, imperious and unwilling to have his ambition curbed by religion, he rather made use of religion to help it on. As the state of affairs in England was not to his liking, he formed the project of bringing back by main force the whole island to the Catholic faith.¹ Whether political or religious, it was a grand idea. True it is that no sovereign ever had more enterprising generals to carry out his orders: the Duke of Alva, alone, was a man capable of accomplishing what his master only dreamt of. In Germany, Italy, Flanders and Portugal, he was ever victorious; his campaign in the Low Countries was glorious enough to immortalise any crowned head. England, Scotland and France, along with the Prince of Orange, were unable to make him retreat one step, and the merciless crushing which he always gave his foes hindered new insurrections: the country was kept under.²

¹ "Su Magestad escrivio estos dias al Señor don Diego que no solamente no queria amistad con la Reyna de Inglaterra, mas antes juntarse con otros principes contra ella para reduzir aquel reyno á la fee catholica (proposicion verdaderamente digna de tal principe)." Aguilon

to the Minister of State Zayas, 6th Nov. 1572; Archives de l' Empire, and Teulet, V., 109.

² Strada's History of the Low Countrey Warres, translated by Stapylton, book vii., passim; Corresp. diplom., V., 412, 425, 452, VII., 313; Teulet, IV., 77.

The idea imagined by the Sovereign of bringing England back to Catholicism was not repugnant to the Duke. Battles to fight and heretic Englishmen to crush; religion as a pretext, but policy as the real end; the glory and power of Spain so much the more incontestable as England should be more humbled; thenceforth no possible rivalry; Spain too much above the world to condescend to meddle with the paltry quarrels of neighbouring states: such was the brilliant dream of a Spaniard in the sixteenth century. The time for striking the blow had not yet come; but the colossal idea of the Invincible Armada was slowly working itself out in the brain of Philip II.

England was fully alive to the danger she should run if the European States came to an understanding, therefore she sowed division on all sides. Steering clear of war herself, she helped it on among the Catholic powers. Gathering with an anxious care the least rumours of dispute between Protestants and Catholics, England aided her co-religionists, and spent time in useless squabbles, while she secretly aimed at real revolutions.

La Rochelle was for France a source of embarrassment, which Elizabeth watchfully kept up. Caught several times aiding the French Protestants, she replied to the complaints of the French ambassador by formal denials,¹ and still went on with her manœuvres. The French refugees found shelter and protection beside her; Montgomery was well received, and Captain Sores quietly made his preparations in spite of the Treaty of Blois.²

In Scotland, Morton had just then been appointed Regent. All was to be feared on the part of a man of such a disposition. The nobles, especially those of the Queen's party, saw his elevation with regret, and prepared to struggle stoutly.

The very day on which Morton reached power, old Knox, as if he had completed his task, was lowered into the tomb. Scotland was no longer to hear that powerful voice which swayed multitudes, subdued and governed them at its will. An orator, ardent, gloomy and tumultuous, and quite full of his cause, he sacrificed to it his interests and affections. Justice must no doubt be done to his devotedness and self-denial; but it must also be done to the wild harshness of his disposition. During his long life he caused blood and tears to flow by rousing the hatred of the Protestants against the Catholics: that was not to be pardoned. History records that he was "often fierce, unrelenting, and

¹ Corresp. diplom., V., 223, 231, 233, 237.

² Corresp. diplom., V., 135, sq., 155, 175, 202, 207, 223, 240, sq., 253, 259, 270.

unscrupulous ;”¹ it is right to add that he showed great disinterestedness and great perseverance. It is not for me to judge him. I profess the religion which he fought against : if I consult my conscience, I must condemn him ; but if I take heed that the Reformer considered Catholicism an idolatry, I must admire his zeal in rooting out that which he thought an error, and I should have desired for his memory that he had fought the doctrine without using any of those offensive personalities which always indicate an arrogant, a brutal and a coarse mind.

Hardly had Morton acquired power, when he began anew the negotiation which the death of the Earl of Mar had broken off. He wished, while all were at peace, to gather round him all the Scots, to make himself master of all their positions, especially Edinburgh Castle, reserving the option of afterwards throwing off the mask, or acting secretly against Mary. Instead of addressing himself at once to the whole of the Queen’s party, he deemed it advisable to make the first overtures to Kirkaldy and those of the Castle. Kirkaldy wished for peace, but he wished it to be just. When he learned that the Regent entered into parley only with him and his followers, and that he meant to ruin Huntly and the Hamiltons, he answered that it was neither honest nor just to lay the blame upon the richest ; that all the defenders of the same cause were equally guilty ; that, for his part, he was resolved never to make peace on such conditions, and never would betray his friends. Morton, hopeless of obtaining anything from so virtuous a man, turned to the Hamiltons and Gordons, gained them over to his side by the Treaty of Perth, and prepared to overthrow Kirkaldy.²

Both sides, full of courage, made active preparations for war. The Regent’s party, too cowardly to undertake alone the siege of the Castle, united with the English, and blushed not to entrust the command of its army to Sir William Drury.³ The English army, informed by engineers of the state of the Castle, relied on a prompt and brilliant victory. On the other hand, all seemed as if planned to discourage Kirkaldy : Vêrac, already twice imprisoned during his negotiations with Scotland,⁴ had just been cast by a tempest on the coast near Scarborough ;⁵ he was kept for the time-being in England, and the help sent from France did not reach Kirkaldy. His sister-in-law, seduced

¹ Tytler’s History of Scotland, III., 355.

² Corresp. diplom., V., 259, 267, 273. Capitulation de Paix, etc.—Teulet, II., 446 ; Melville’s Memoirs, 251, 252.

³ Camden, II., 250 ; Melville’s Memoirs, 253.

⁴ Corresp. diplom., IV., 53, 70, 73, 104, 113, 185, 193, 197, 212, 215.

⁵ Rapin Thoyras, VII.

by Morton,¹ handed over the fortress of Blackness, with all the money and munitions which it contained.² One of Knox's prophecies was the talk of the whole country. On his deathbed, the Reformer had sent word to Kirkaldy to forsake the Queen's cause, and surrender the Castle. "If he will not," the dying man had added, "he shall be brought down over the walls with shame, and hang with his face to the sun: so God hath assured me."³ The people frightened by the prediction, became indifferent and almost hostile, and the nobles went over in large numbers to the Regent's side. Left to his own resources, the gallant Kirkaldy vainly looked towards France for help: instead of effective aid, he received from her only delusive promises.⁴ He was obliged, with a garrison of a hundred and sixty men, to stand out against the Scottish and English armies united.

The English laid siege to the place with formidable armaments, to make Kirkaldy surrender the sooner, but neither threat nor summons could make him flinch. On the 17th of May, the English artillery began to play on the Castle. The cannons directed their fire on the principal bastion, called David's Tower. The artillery of the Castle tried to reply, but was soon silenced for want of ammunition. The bastions, with their curtains, falling successively under the enemy's fire, the place was dismantled.⁵ Of the two wells which supplied the Castle, one was dried up, and the other, filled up by the ruins of the walls, had become useless. The garrison was forced to go armed to fetch water, or raise it by means of a rope let down over the walls. In spite of his distress, Kirkaldy did not think of surrendering; he commanded the manœuvres, and watched over the defence coolly and quietly. Unable to triumph by force of arms, the besiegers poisoned the water.⁶ The garrison was almost entirely destroyed, and the intrepid Kirkaldy soon had only fifteen healthy men around him.⁷ He still struggled on, and the allies did not know what to think of so obstinate a resistance. They sent two of their men to him with proposals of peace, but in reality to pry into the state of affairs in the Castle, and bribe the soldiers. That very night, two of the healthy men took to flight, and led the besiegers to hope for an easy and early victory.⁸

¹ Craufurd's Memoirs, 248.

² Tytler's History of Scotland, III., 358.

³ Calderwood's History, 60; M'Crie, Life of J. Knox, 341; Spottiswoode, II., 182.

⁴ Corresp. diplom., VII., 418.

⁵ Journal of the Siege of Edinburgh Castle, Bannat. Miscell., II., 75.

⁶ Advis sur les choses d'Escosse.—Teulet, II., 449; Melville's Memoirs, 254.

⁷ Advis sur les choses d'Escosse.—Teulet, II., 449; Smolett, V., vii., 193.

⁸ Melville's Memoirs, 254; Teulet, II., 449.

Lest Kirkaldy, through his stubbornness, should have to reproach himself with the wretched fate of his unfortunate companions, he appeared on the ramparts on the 26th of May, with a white rod in his hand. He asked that the lives and property of his companions-in-arms should be safe—that Lord Hume and Lethington, personal enemies of the Regent, should have liberty to withdraw into England—and that he himself be allowed to stay in his own country without hurt. Morton refused to grant those conditions to the *Castilians*, who had done him very much harm: by that term he contemptuously called Kirkaldy and his followers. As a last condition, he required the soldiers to come out on foot and without arms, and the others to surrender unconditionally to the Queen of England.¹

Kirkaldy was indignant; the gallant warrior swore he would not yield while a wall of the Castle stood. He preferred to be buried under the ruins of the citadel defended by his bravery, rather than give in to enemies whose hate was as great as their baseness. He shut himself up in the Castle, resolved to die there. The soldiers, bribed by the English, and discouraged by a struggle the importance of which they did not see, mutinied, and threatened to hang Lethington from the loophole of the rampart, if, within six hours, he had not induced the commander to capitulate. Kirkaldy, foreseeing that nothing could bring back his soldiers to more worthy sentiments, secretly introduced into the Castle, during the night of the 29th, two English companies. He handed the place over to them, and gave up himself and his followers as prisoners of Elizabeth, but not of the Regent.²

The surrender of the Castle did not afford Morton the joy which he had anticipated. His fears were put to flight, but his ambition was not entirely satisfied; and if, on the one hand, he was glad to see his enemies overthrown, on the other, he was vexed that they had given themselves up to his allies.

Before the English cabinet had decided as to the fate of the prisoners, Morton wrote to Lord Burghley claiming them, and Killigrew was barbarous enough to demand and insist on their execution.³ Kirkaldy and Lethington, informed of the danger which they ran, wrote a letter to the all-powerful Secretary, and offered their services to the English government.⁴ Resolved, as Elizabeth was, to humble the last defenders

¹ Camden, II., 251.

² Corresp. diplom., V., passim from 253 to 374; Journal of the Siege, Bannat. Miscell., II., 72-78; Diurnal of Occur., 330 sq.;

Spottiswoode, II., 186-192; Memoirs of Kirkaldy, xxviii., 337-354.

³ Tytler's History of Scotland, III., 361, 362.

⁴ It is printed in Tytler's History of Scotland, III., 362.

of her rival, she however knew also, now and then, how to use clemency when her own interests were at stake. She was on the point of waging a war in Ireland, the result of which it was not easy to foresee,¹ and a captain like the Laird of Grange was precious under such circumstances. She enquired as to the "quality and quantity of the prisoners' offences."² Morton and Killigrew did not take even the trouble to answer; they insisted on the necessity of putting them to death, and the Queen of England gave them up to the Regent.

Morton soon took his revenge. He endeavoured, in the first place, to rid himself of an accomplice who might reproach him with the death of Darnley. Lethington was found poisoned; and although the report was spread that he had died as the ancient Romans died,³ no one believed him a suicide.⁴ Whether voluntary or forced, that death saved him from execution. Kirkaldy's lot was more severe. In vain did the mass of the Scots protest against the execution;⁵ in vain did a hundred noblemen propose to ransom his life at the price of twenty thousand pounds Scotch and an annuity of three thousand silver marks, promising to be for ever the faithful vassals of the houses of Angus and Morton: the Regent was merciless.⁶ Then were seen, to the eternal shame of the Scottish Church, eager preachers maintaining that God's wrath would be quenched only when the earth should be purified with blood, and their voice found echoes.⁷ That blood, the most noble which had ever caused a heart to beat in those unhappy days, ceased to flow on the 3d of August 1573—shameful day—when Kirkaldy and his brother were hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh. Neither God, nor France in whom he placed his hopes, saved him from that ignominy.⁸

That was a sad end for a man who was the glory of his country, and the admiration of all Europe. Intrepid on the battle-field, prudent and moderate in his counsels, bold in his ideas, and always equal to his task, he deserved a better fate. No doubt, in a moment of error, he conspired against his sovereign, and blamed her for a murder of which he was one of the authors; but he died for Mary, and thus blotted out that baseness. Elizabeth detested him, Morton feared him, and Henry II. had

¹ Corresp. diplom., V., 383, 454.

² Tytler's History of Scotland, III., 362.

³ Melville's Memoirs, 256.

⁴ Camden, II., 252—see Proofs, vii.

⁵ *Advis sur les choses d'Escosse*.—Teulet, II., 449.

⁶ Camden, II., 252; Tytler's History of Scotland, III., 363; Corresp. diplom., V., 397.

⁷ Morton to Killigrew, 5th August.—Tytler, III., 422.

⁸ "And als I argoued all the cais,
I hard ane say, within this place,
With help of God and France
I sall, within ane litill space
Thy dolouris all to drese!"—
Kirkaldy's Ballad, Bannat. Memor., 88.

admired him ; one could have wished a less ignoble end for him. His death, however, robbed his life of none of its splendour ; it was infamous only for his enemies. He faced the scaffold, as he had defied Morton, without ever degrading himself. Sir William Drury, Marshal of Berwick, acknowledged the valour of the noble defender of Edinburgh by tendering his resignation. Confused at what had happened, he thought his rank was no longer an honour to him after losing his credit. La Mothe Fénelon, who saw him in London, feared new manœuvres, especially against the Bishop of Ross, whom Morton pursued with the utmost hostility. Those fears were groundless ; Drury had seen too much injustice : he never reappeared at Berwick.¹

The Queen's party was overthrown—ruined. The news of the fall of Edinburgh Castle roused an echo, which Elizabeth tried to swell, that she might complete the consternation and despair of the conquered. "I have heard of the loss of my Castle of Edinburgh, and other sad news," wrote Mary Stuart at a later time, "and I have noticed that people take more delight in telling me of my losses than in consoling me."²

Morton, ever since he became Regent, had shown a changeable disposition. Of a sour temperament and an ambitious spirit, he at times became more easy, and thought of reconciling both parties ; but when his violent nature gained the upper hand, he enraged those whom he had the day before tried to quiet : he went from one extreme to the other. As long as Kirkaldy lived, he was obliged to curb himself, but when the gibbet had freed him from that dangerous rival, he let his great pride and haughtiness be seen.³ He gave way to all excesses.⁴ Pliant towards England alone, because he owed his rank to her, he treated his subjects with very great roughness ; his avarice was proverbial, and his debauchery well known.⁵ A faint-hearted traitor, he wished, from fear of France, to place Scotland under the guardianship of England by an Act of Parliament.⁶ He intrigued furiously in that direction with old Cauberon, and at the request of that personage, he sent twelve hundred and fifty Scots to die on the battlefields of Holland.⁷

Elizabeth, seeing what was taking place in Scotland, could at length

¹ Melville's Memoirs, 259 ; Corresp. diplom., V., 392.

² Mary Stuart to Elizabeth. Prince Labanoff, IV., 113.

³ Melville's Memoirs, 260.

⁴ Corresp. diplom., V., 411.

⁵ Corresp. diplom., VI., 32 ; Melville's Memoirs, 249 ; M. Chéruef, Marie Stuart et Catherine de Médicis, 73.

⁶ Advis sur les choses d' Escosse.—Teulet, II., 450.

⁷ Corresp. diplom., V., 384, 413, 418, 425.

believe herself Queen and Mistress of all Great Britain, and prepare to enjoy in peace the delights of the throne, but just then religious passions came to threaten her in the very heart of England. The Puritans were a rigid and fault-finding sect, which clung more closely to Calvin than to the Anglican Church. Implacable enemies of all authority, they hated Catholics and Episcopalians. From questions of rites they came to the stormy questions of politics, and were bold enough to deny the right of the civil power to meddle with religious matters. That insolence strongly irritated Elizabeth, and the Puritans, summoned before Parker, their mortal enemy, had either to yield or give up their livings.

The Puritans did not yield or give up anything, and in several places held secret meetings to consider the needs of their sect; the parties were thenceforward entirely separated. The Government employed force, as the Non-Conformists would not give way, but stubbornly clung to their cause. They had asked at first only some trifling reforms; they soon attacked the entire established order of things. Cartwright, a professor of theology at Cambridge, took in hand to draw up what, among the mere sectaries, were as yet but vague cravings. From that there resulted a fierce struggle, in which the Puritans had to cope with Catholics and Anglicans. They gathered round them as many as possible to face their numerous enemies, roused the people, and in the Parliament itself made a bold stand. Elizabeth was forced to use rigorous measures, and put the most headstrong into prison. She might, perhaps, have failed through the obstinacy of the Puritans, had not Parker's death, and the peaceful Episcopacy of Grindal, calmed, for a while, those violent quarrels which were again to break forth with so much bitterness under Whitgift.¹

The clergy of Scotland, though less turbulent, were not in a better condition, while among those of the higher rank, the heartburnings were many. After the death of the Archbishop of St Andrews, Morton had the revenues of that see given to himself. People grumbled that a layman should have the audacity to appropriate Church revenues. He made Archbishop, an old man named Douglas, at one time rector of the College of St Andrews, and gave him a small portion of the tithes. The example was contagious, and the sees of Glasgow and Dunkeld were given to those who asked least. Then followed a general uneasiness, and those bishops lost both the temporal goods and the little respect they still had left to them. The Bishop of Dunkeld,

¹ Hallam's Constitutional History of England, I., 256-268; Corresp. diplom., V., 435, 462, 470.

brought, six months after, almost to poverty, was condemned in an assembly of the clergy.¹

Helpless as were those bishops, they were none the less hated by the public. Their very name was loathed; for it contained something august, which in recalling Catholicism, clearly proved that the reform was not thorough. There were long discussions as to whether Episcopacy, as it existed in Scotland, was, or was not, according to the Scriptures. Some earnestly wished to put an end to it, in the hope of sharing the spoil; others, more prudent or less greedy, drew back before so bold a reform, and the question was left unsettled. Morton, during this controversy, behaved as a crafty politician. Unwilling to mix himself up in a speculative discussion condemned by his acts, he fostered the dispute, that he might act more freely while public attention was turned from him.

Small party quarrels were about to give way to schemes of great ambition. The young Prince, after a few days' illness, lay at death's door, and no one pitied his condition; he was allowed to struggle with the grim slayer, while no interest was taken in his health. Had the Prince died, Scotland, torn asunder by factions, would have been lost as a nation. Already the Hamiltons and the Stuarts sought to flatter Elizabeth by reminding her of the influence of England at the time of John Baliol.² The Prince's recovery made those ambitions needless. Scotland still lay under the heel of Morton, who seemed for a moment to forget his former grudges, in order to work out his own ends. He undertook to rob the captive Queen of her faithful Lesley; but the latter preferred imprisonment to a guilty freedom, waiting Elizabeth's good pleasure to send him to France.³ Morton, however, was more successful with Lord Hume: he gained him over by giving him back his castle, which the English had held since May 1570.⁴

To hold out amid those turns of fortune's wheel, Scotland must, in the sixteenth century, have possessed an unwonted vitality, and in the present day, when things have changed, it is wonderful how a state so small in population has been able to play so important a part in history. In spite of that wretched civil war which raged so long in its very centre, it had the strength to check England, disquiet Spain, and send its soldiers into France, Sweden, Holland and Denmark to fight under all banners.

Morton, who had scorned France on his accession to power, was not

¹ Robertson's History of Scotland, II., 40,
54.

² Corresp. diplom., V., 452.

³ Prince Labanoff, IV., 100; Corresp. diplom., V., 450.

⁴ Corresp. diplom., V., 430, 450; VI., 33.

long in changing his policy ; for necessity taught him to act more wisely. For a long time the encouraged flatterer of England, he saw himself thrown aside in London, because nothing more could be got out of him. The English Cabinet no longer showed him any attentions but those usual between master and slave. The money which he asked was sent him as to a salaried valet ;¹ he was no longer free in his conduct ; Elizabeth paid him for work done, and, as a natural consequence, she had him closely watched. That passive obedience, though handsomely paid, at last wearied him. On the steps of the throne, he felt less free than his subjects. To throw off the yoke of England, he sought the aid of France. Killigrew's watchfulness prevented it. Besides, all Scotland was disturbed. His unbounded avarice and pride, unbearable after his fall, and his hard-heartedness and rapacity in seizing the property of the clergy and coveting the Crown jewels, had galled the Scots.²

The merchants gave the signal for the revolt, and dragged the lords into it. Morton seeing his authority in danger, gained over the Earl of Huntly by magnificent promises, drew near to Elizabeth, and revenged himself for failing to connect himself with France, by combating the interests of that country.³ But Scotland protested, and, after taking that step, was more disposed to renew the old Franco-Scottish alliance.⁴

That sudden change lowered the reviving fortune of the Regent, and caused rebellions to be more dreaded. Morton saw himself at once without authority, and without reputation, and the more lonely and degraded he felt, the more erect he stood in the midst of the flatterers who surrounded him, heaping disdain upon his former friends, and venting upon them the bad humour which he could not display in public. "One day," says Melville, "the Laird of Carmichael complained to me that the Regent acknowledged so badly the services which he had rendered him, and declared that he was resolved to forsake him. I answered him that he ought to profit by the examples of the Laird of Grange, and of Walter Melville, my brother, who had lost the good graces of the Regent, because they were too honest men : that I myself having wished to speak to him with the same freedom as I had used before he became Regent, had deserved his wrath and his aversion, although I had served him usefully on many occasions ; but that others, on the contrary, who had previously been his enemies, had

¹ Melville's Memoirs, 260 ; Tytler's History of Scotland, IV., 3, 4.

² Corresp. diplom., VI., 76, 77.

³ Corresp. diplom. VI., 64, 126, 142, 166, 204, 211, 227.

⁴ Corresp. diplom. VI., 247.

become his great favourites, because they admired and approved every act, and because their backbones were supple enough to allow them to make profound bows. Those people have taken possession of his mind, and we are hated by him. Apparently you have followed our example and our stupid conduct ; but undeceive yourself, and change your manner if you would make a fortune. And since you see that your friend has become Regent, imagine you have never known him before, and act as if you were entering the service of a new master. Forget your past services, accustom your back to bend very low, and let the expression 'YOUR GRACE' be often repeated : especially, do not pry into his actions, but comply blindly with all that pleases him, and if you do not feel the better for it, say I know nothing about it. If you act in any other way you will hasten nothing but your ruin."

"Mr. Carmichael thanked me kindly for my advice, and appeared anxious to follow it. Indeed he adopted my plan, and did so well that he was employed and rewarded, and that he obtained influence to do good to his friends ; but," adds the witty chronicler, "I found him not thankful afterwards to me for my counsel."

Those, however, who were too noble to yield to that servitude, stood aloof from the Regent as much as they could without showing too openly their displeasure ; personal dignity would have been regarded as rebellious. In England, where that fear did not exist, it was freely talked about. Elizabeth was getting tired of Morton's baseness, and laughed at his feeble threats ; the calumnies which he had so often used against the Queen and her partisans, had become, on his part, so much a matter of course, that they were no longer profitable to him : besides they were displeasing to Elizabeth. After having thought well of the calumniators,² she had come to punish them.³ There now remained for Morton only one way of really pleasing her, and that was to place in her hands the Prince of Scotland whom France, Spain and England disputed.⁴ Morton tried to do so in concert with Killigrew and the Countess of Lennox ;⁵ but the Earl of Huntly and Alexander Erskine opposed it so vigorously, and the French ambassador threw so many obstacles in the way, that the Regent saw his favourite plan fail.⁶ The English and Scottish Governments were irritated at the check ; there

¹ Melville's Memoirs, 261.

² Corresp. diplom. V., 471. Mary Stuart to la Mothe Fénelon, 10th March, 1574. Prince Labanoff, IV., 117.

³ Corresp. diplom. VI., 44.

⁴ Various Spanish Papers, Teulet, V., 112, 122, 126 ; Corresp. diplom. VI., 149, 166, 238, 242.

⁵ Corresp. diplom. VI., 249, 261.

⁶ Advis sur les choses d'Escoffe, Teulet II., 450. Corresp. diplom. VI., 254, 287.

was an outburst of zeal and persecution ; the envoys of the Archbishop of Glasgow were thrown into prison, and la Mothe Fénelon was forbidden to communicate with Mary Stuart and her son.¹

The marriage of Darnley's brother with Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter of the Countess of Shrewsbury, which was celebrated a month later, added to the fury of the persecution, and gave rise to great mistrust, especially of the Countess of Lennox who was put under arrest,² and of Mary, who was blamed for that wedding.³ Although there were no proofs, that Princess had the sad fate to feel her miseries grow greater day by day.⁴

Amidst those trials, she was also deprived of a man who had promised her much, and who would certainly have kept his word, had he not had continual wars on his hands. The Duke of Alba had been replaced by the feeble Requesens, to the great jōy of the Flemish, whom the Duke had subdued and kept down with severity.⁵

Frightful prodigies seen in the middle of the month of November, suddenly spread terror and desolation among the followers, by turns voluptuous and busy, of Queen Elizabeth, and made those who acted as haughty arbiters of human destinies tremble on their thrones, by reminding them of their littleness. People saw with stupor two large fire brands flash across the sky rivalling the sun in brightness, and threatening to consume the earth, sea-monsters running on shore, and the Thames overflowing its banks in an alarming manner.⁶ Elizabeth was frightened, and in all haste she sent for the best astrologers to learn of them her future. The interpretations were not few ; but had the good Fénelon been superstitious, he might have believed that those fires, those waters, and those sea-monsters were only the forerunners of a storm which was to burst over Elizabeth's head.

That storm was provoked through a trifling matter of ceremony which no historian would ever have mentioned, had not its consequences been so dangerous. The Duke de Guise had ordered the persons who accompanied Lord North to uncover themselves in presence of the King, and the Queen had presented to Elizabeth's envoy a jester dressed up in the English fashion, whose outward appearance reminded one of Henry VIII. : such were the two grievances. In communicating,

¹ Corresp. diplom. VI., 265, 275, 376.

² Prince Labanoff, IV., 258 ; Corresp. diplom. VI., 319, 328.

³ Camden, II., 261 ; Corresp. diplom. VI., 299.

⁴ Corresp. diplom. VI., 311, 319, 328.

⁵ Camden, II. 253.

⁶ Corresp. diplom. VI., 298 ; Camden, II., 263.

to the French ambassador, the sorrow which such proceedings caused her, Elizabeth uttered words so unworthy of her position, and so far from respectful to the ambassador, that la Mothe Fénelon, after strongly denying that Catherine de Médicis had made a fool of Henry VIII., thought of exacting a retraction, under penalty of at once breaking off his relations with the Court. "It occurred to me, Sire," wrote the ambassador to his master, "that I ought to insist that the said lady, previous to my leaving her Chamber, should retract what she had said of the Queen, your mother, or let me leave her kingdom." The thought that the rupture might be more hurtful than useful to his country, kept the ambassador in England.¹

Elizabeth owed the French a grudge for it, and to revenge herself, formed the plan of a vast conspiracy against France. Her purpose was to seize Calais, Boulogne, Dieppe, Havre and Cherbourg, kindle war in all corners of French territory, kill the King, if possible, and sack the country from one end to the other. La Mothe Fénelon checked the conspiracy by giving the Queen of England such an idea of the French forces that she gave way to words of praise about the troops. Never was that expedition brought up again; it was given up within a week, like the one which the King of Spain intended to send to Scotland.²

The close of the year 1574 witnessed the removal of a man who had played a great part in France and whose death was an irreparable loss to Mary: the Cardinal de Lorraine had breathed his last at Christmas. The sad news was not at first told to the captive Princess, and the poor creature wrote to her uncle, already dead a fortnight, a letter full of the most tender sentiments. "My good uncle," she wrote, "I see the little hope which the state of affairs in France can afford me. It is very annoying to me, not only on account of myself, but also on account of my good wishes for the country wherein I have been brought up and wherein dwell those who are most dear to me. May God in His mercy be willing to see to it, and protect you; for from this country (England) you may expect all the bad treatment that can be dreamt of, especially against our house, on account of the fidelity which it bears to the Court of France." She begged him to answer for her good faith, if it happened to be doubted at the Court. "Besides, my good uncle," added she, "I entreat you to pardon me if I have written to you too freely regarding the displeasure which I felt at certain proceedings of our people in

¹ Corresp. diplom., VI., 332.

² *Advertissement d'Aulcunes choses.*—Corresp. diplom., VI., 337, sq., 348.

my affairs. . . . I implore you not to be angry with me for it, but send me a secretary, and I shall inform you, according to your desire, of what I think of him. Meanwhile, I thank you with all my heart for the offers which it has pleased you to make to me in your open letters. I entreat you only to take particular interest in the poor banished Scots and English, and beg you to bid them hope on. . . . I write to you so freely, because I desire to be able some day to do you a service, for it is what I wish in this world as much as any other thing; and in conclusion, my good uncle, I pray you to love me and command me as a daughter who loves you as she loves herself.”¹

The Cardinal, alas! could no longer love his unfortunate niece: he was no more. That touching letter was not answered. When Mary learned what had happened, she was not astonished: a vague presentiment had already told her of it, and her sleep had been disturbed by dreams of the Cardinal's death. She bore the loss with resignation. “I am much astonished,” she wrote to her ambassador in France, “that in times of so sad news I have had neither counsel nor consolation from you. I attribute it to the very depth of your regret at my loss; but God be praised that He has given me strength to bear my afflictions. Though I cannot as yet keep these eyes from weeping, yet true it is, that my long-lasting adversities have taught me to hope for rest only beyond the tomb. Alas! I am a prisoner, and God takes from me one of those whom I loved most dearly. What more shall I say? He has taken from me at once my father and my uncle: I shall follow, when it shall please Him, with small regret; but, I beg of you, console me, and do not grieve, for by so doing you take from me again a good friend and servant whom, I feel assured, I have in you.”²

Those few words give a correct idea of Mary Stuart: resigned to the will of God, attached to her relatives, and full of affection for her servants. There is a vast difference betwixt Mary, a woman full of grief and resignation, and that intriguing, jealous, wicked and venomous Queen, whom biassed writers have sketched from the foolish dreams of their impure hearts. The truth will out, I am sure of it. The time for hatred is past: Buchanan and his imitators are dead; the others shall pass away, and of all those calumniators, now saluted as historians, there will remain, in a century, only the degraded name. The future generations, raised above ignorance or stupid belief, shall hasten to

¹ Mary Stuart to the Cardinal de Lorraine.
9th January 1575.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 251,
sq.

² Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow,
20th February 1575.—Prince Labanoff, IV.,
266.

forget them, and Mary shall stand forth the lily of innocence twining round the palm of martyrdom.

During that time Elizabeth's counsellors had their eyes fixed upon Scotland. Unable to fetter Morton, who was ever stirring and changing, just as it suited his interests, they were disposed to make a league with the Scots, to undertake the care of the young King, marry him to a Princess of Spain, and finally declare him the heir of Elizabeth.¹ That arrangement was to form an indissoluble tie between England and Scotland, pacify Philip II. by the lure of a rich alliance, and weaken France: a bold plan, which failed, like many other advantageous measures, through the natural aversion of Elizabeth to appointing a successor for herself. Scotland remained at peace, not suspecting anything, and Morton, ever avaricious, continued to rule, relying on England. No notice had been taken of Mary in that political arrangement; she was treated worse at that period than she had been for several months before it. The affair of the Countess of Lennox had soured Elizabeth; the cyphers found on the envoys of the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the reports made by Killigrew and Morton had caused her uneasiness. Persons of every rank were confined in the Tower; there were examinations which led to nothing certain, so that the "bitter inquisition" had no result.²

Those persecutions made Mary's partisans more circumspect. On the death of the Duke of Chatelleraut, some sought refuge at the Court of England,³ and stayed there until the young Prince got older. That little Prince, born in misfortune, brought up by strangers, lulled to sleep by the din of war, and growing in the midst of conspiracies, was ripe at an age when other children are unable to think for themselves. To talk openly in his presence of his mother and of the state of his country was usual, because they thought they had to deal with a mere thoughtless child. He listened and was silent. When he spoke, it was to defend the Queen with a wisdom which surprised his masters themselves. When the powers disputed the possession of him, he had the boldness to say to Morton's counsellors, "I shall go neither to France nor elsewhere without an order from my mother; and, in spite of you all, I shall do what may be pleasing to her."⁴ On another occasion he silenced a lord, calling him double-faced, for at first praising

¹ Corresp. diplom., VI., 364.

² Corresp. diplom., VI., 168, 265, 376, 427, 429, 441.

³ Corresp. diplom., VI., 381, 404.

⁴ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 26th December 1574.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 246, 265.

Morton's government, and then supporting the Queen's party.¹ The report of his prudence had travelled through France before it reached the ear of Philip II.²

The heart of the son did not forget his mother, though slanderous tales were poured into his youthful ear. Mary deserved more sympathy than was usually shown her. Those who knew the gentle captive could not but feel that secret emotion which, in many, produces a real enthusiasm. Misfortune threw a halo of glory around her beauty, and persecution, which tried her courage, showed to the world her heavenly virtues. Thence that charm of person which created in generous hearts an eager desire to see her less unhappy. In comparing her to that horrid Elizabeth, whose lustful life reminds one of Messallina,³ and whose ferocity told of Nero, a shameful mixture of pride and meanness; who would pass for a virgin despite her amours;⁴ who sulked at her favourites when she did not beat them;⁵ who joined to the vices of woman the excesses of tyrants; who lodged in the Tower, had killed or burnt alive,⁶ those who resisted her, the few honest men who then lived, untouched by fear, were irresistibly drawn towards the Queen of Scots! Both born Queens, they had not the same disposition; they led not the same life; they came into the world to show all the energy of woman's mind: a violent, harsh, and despotic energy in Elizabeth; a gentle but firm energy in Mary Stuart. But for those two Queens, at variance with each other through a mysterious destiny, it is hard to believe that at the same period a woman could be despotic even to fury and her rival patient even to martyrdom.

The quiet which Mary enjoyed in her tribulations is wonderful. Scarcely had she returned from Buxton, whither she had gone to recover her health,⁷ when she went back to her customary occupations. Her existence was a problem. Overwhelmed with miseries and ill usage; threatened by Elizabeth, whose periodical outbursts were to be dreaded;⁸ running the risk of dying, sometimes by

¹ Melville's *Memoirs*, 263.

² Don Diego de Zuñiga to Philip II., 9th March 1575.—Teulet, V., 125.

³ Lingard's *History of England*; *Corresp. diplom.*, II., 121, sq.; Harington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*, 166. Those various accounts are supported; but there are certain anonymous despatches from Simancas which defy all description. I have already had occasion to quote a specimen.

⁴ Mary to Elizabeth.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 51, sq.

⁵ Harington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*, 167; Smolett's *History of England*, book v., chap. viii., No. 58.

⁶ *Corresp. diplom.*, VI., 490; Gregorio Leti, *Vie d'Elizabeth*, I., 499.

⁷ M. Mignet, II., 192.

⁸ *Corresp. diplom.*, V., 450, 471; VI., 34.

poison,¹ often by violence;² persecuted in her faith;³ half ruined in France;⁴ overpowered by grief and by sickness;⁵ forgotten by the Princes, her relations;⁶ equally in danger from both England and Scotland;⁷ deprived of her ambassador in London,⁸ and of her secretary;⁹ stricken in her family;¹⁰ heart-broken for her servants and friends;¹¹ Mary found in the depth of her heart a strength which surprises, and which exercised so great an influence around her that Elizabeth feared lest she should draw over Leicester,¹² and Burghley himself.¹³

To those who said she did but pretend to be serious when she asked leave to practise her religion, she answered: "Your libel affirms it, some renegade preachers, who make it a business to sow discord broad-cast through my kingdom, maintain it and condemn me, but let them know I do not play at such games; I respect religion as becomes a Christian lady who puts her hope in God alone."¹⁴

To those who squandered her revenue in France, she wrote: "I wish to make friends and save money, and do not mean to enrich the servants of others."¹⁵

To Kings she said: "You must neither threaten nor flatter Elizabeth; but warn her, and afterwards force her to speak or to act."¹⁶

In reference to the King of France she expressed this opinion which time was to confirm: "If the King is brave, he will be feared in England; if he is soft, he will be set at nought; you may take my word for it."¹⁷

¹ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 126. Corresp. diplom., V., 450.

² Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow and to the Cardinal de Lorraine.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 205, 232. Corresp. diplom., VI., 265.

³ Mary Stuart to la Mothe Fénelon.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 94, 95.

⁴ Declaration and various letters of Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and to the Treasurer Dolu.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 137, 161, 173, 180, 304.

⁵ M. Mignet, II., 192. Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, and to la Mothe Fénelon, IV., 44, 241.

⁶ M. Chéruel, Marie Stuart et Catherine de Médicis, 67.

⁷ Corresp. diplom., VI., 497. Instructions given to Killigrew.—State Paper Office.

⁸ Corresp. diplom., V., 471; Camden, II., 252.

⁹ Various letters of Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 186, 209, 216.

¹⁰ Mary Stuart to la Mothe Fénelon.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 263.

¹¹ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 258. Corresp. diplom., VI., 265.

¹² Mary Stuart to la Mothe Fénelon.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 194.

¹³ Lodge's Papers, II., 83, 116, 163; Prince Labanoff, IV., 275.

¹⁴ Mary Stuart to la Mothe Fénelon.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 95.

¹⁵ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 180.

¹⁶ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow and to the Cardinal de Lorraine.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 122.

¹⁷ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 245.

In the midst of her misfortunes she was anxious that nothing should be wanting to her friends. Now, it was the command of the Scottish guard which she solicited for Adam Gordon;¹ then a benefice for the Archbishop of Glasgow;² at other times, she asked wages for her servants,³ or recommended to her ambassador, the persons who had aided her.⁴ Her heart was feeling for the unfortunate; and, though destitute, she yet found means of comforting others more unhappy than herself. To be in misfortune was sufficient to secure a right to her kindness. A poor widow, victim of her own misconduct, one day came to ask charity from her: Mary had nothing to give her; she wrote to la Mothe-Fénelon: "as to that poor widow I do not know what I can do for her; she has not behaved properly, to tell the truth; but, if considering her great need, you will give her a hundred crowns, I shall have them repaid to you."⁵ She had

"A tear for pity, and a hand
Open as day for melting charity."

Amid those dangers Mary busied herself with philosophy, and while from the outside her ruin was being conspired, she wrote verses on the Inconstancy and Frailty of the World. What might she not say? She had but to review her own past to become eloquent. She wrote:—

"Estre venu des parens geneureux,
N'empesche point qu'on ne soit malheureux.
Les beaux habits, les jeu, les ris, la danse,
Ne laissent d'eux que dueil et repentance;
Et la beauté, tant agréable aux yeux,
Se part de nous, quand nous devenons vieux:
Boire et manger et vivre tout à l'aise
Revient aussi à douleur et malaise:
Beaucoup d'amis, richesse, ny sçavoir,
De contenter, qui les a, n'ont pouvoir.
Brief tout le bien de ceste vie humaine
Se garde peu et s'acquiert à grand peine."⁶

¹ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 169.

² Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow and to the Cardinal de Lorraine.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 234, 254.

³ Memoir sent by Mary Stuart to France.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 229, sq.

⁴ Various letters of Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 184, 235, 238, 248, 266.

⁵ Mary Stuart to la Mothe Fénelon.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 223.

⁶ "To be born of generous parents does not hinder one's being unfortunate. Rich dresses, games, laughter and dancing leave but sorrow and repentance; and beauty, so pleasing to the eye, forsakes us when we grow old; a life of merriment, eating and drinking, ends also in grief and discomfort; many friends, riches and knowledge, have not the power to satisfy those who have them. In short, all the good of this human life is enjoyed but a short time, and is acquired with great hardship."

On feeling the world escape from her, she turned towards God and asked from Him patience and advice, and the mercy of being ever faithful to Him ;—

“ Permits Seigneur, que tousjours mon bon Ange
Soit près de moy, et t’offre ma loüange
Mes oraisons, mes larmes et souspirs,
Et de mon cœur tous les justes desirs.
Ton saint Esprit sur moy face demeure
Tant que voudras qu’en ce monde je dure.”¹

Similar sentiments form again the subject-matter of two sonnets which that unfortunate Princess composed in her moments of weariness.²

After poetry, she devoted her leisure hours to the working of various articles for dress, several of which were sent to Elizabeth. She had rich tissues sent her from France, and embroidered them with so much art, that those works of her hands called forth universal admiration.³ Mary was glad to know that her gifts were welcomed, and her happiness was expressed in words as artless as they were delicate.⁴ It is touching to see her doing her utmost to enhance the already faded beauty of Elizabeth. She wrote to la Mothe Fénelon : “ I am delighted to hear from you that the Queen, my good sister, has been pleased with my verses. . . . I have no leisure at present to write her, as the writing of this despatch takes up all my time. I am busy trimming a head-dress for her, but I have so few work-girls to help me in delicate work, that I cannot have it ready for some time. I shall work at nothing else, unless remind her every now and then of me, seeing that she does me the honour to receive my work in good part. But I wish you to let me know what she likes most, for, as regards novelties, we see nothing here to help invention. If a little net-work pleased her more than anything else, I should do some. Meanwhile, I beg you to get me some gold footing with silver spangles, as fine and as delicate as possible, and send me six ells of it, and also twenty ells of double footing, or any other narrow open lace, all gold.”⁵

Elizabeth, fond of wearing ornaments embroidered by her rival,

¹ “ Grant, Lord, that my good angel be ever near me, and offer Thee my praise, my prayers, my tears and sighs, and all the just desires of my heart. May Thy Holy Spirit be with me as long as it shall please Thee that I should remain upon earth.”—Meditation composed by Mary Queen of Scots, Bannat. Miscel., I., 343, sq.

² *Que suis-je hélas !* &c., in the Life of Mary Queen of Scots, by Henry Glassford Bell, II.,

213, and *l’Ire de Dieu*, &c., in Bannat. Miscel., I., 348.

³ Corresp. diplom., VI., 122, 349. Castelnau to the King, 29th February 1576.—Teulet, III., 3.

⁴ Various letters of Mary to Elizabeth, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and la Mothe Fénelon.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 171, 213, 240.

⁵ Mary Stuart to la Mothe Fénelon, 14th September 1574.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 222, 223.

received them greedily. Two things especially excited her vanity: the work was perfect, and it was wrought by Mary's hand. She longed for it. Proud and impatient she used this revolting language to the French ambassador: "I am older than the Queen, my sister; and old people willingly grasp with two hands, and give with but one finger."¹

Far from the din of the world, and leaning on the Good God, Mary, though seeing her plans and those of her partisans fail wretchedly, sought consolation in nature. She reared little birds, and delighted to foster life around her as she felt herself gradually sinking. What she could not get in England, she sought from the Continent. "My Lord of Glasco," she wrote, "I beg you will get for me some turtle-doves and some of those Barbary fowls, that I may see if I can rear them in this country. . . . I should delight in feeding them in a cage, as I do all the little birds which I can find. They are the pastimes of a prisoner."² Three months after, she wrote, "If the Cardinal de Guise, my uncle, has gone to Lyons, I feel sure that he will send me a couple of beautiful little dogs, and that you also will buy me a couple; for, except reading and working, I have no other amusement than the little animals which I can get. You would need to send them to me in hampers, warmly wrapped."³ Later, she said, "I am very fond of my little dogs, but I am afraid they may get big."⁴

Unfortunate Princess, she was weary of life; she felt at heart the baseness and duplicity of mankind, more than her own miseries. Scorned by those whom she had tried to serve, she found rest among her turtle-doves and little dogs, graceful symbols of innocence and fidelity. There she felt free; and if the sight of her prison came at times to grieve her, she consoled herself with the thought that the little animals about her, prisoners like herself, were nevertheless cheerful. Her patience was angelic: no more complaints, no more recriminations against Elizabeth. The quiet which she enjoyed in the very midst of dangers, while reminding her of the happy days which she had spent in her convent at Rheims, led her back irresistibly to religion. "I am in such a condition," she wrote, "that I wish freedom to go and serve God in private life, and quit all that I have, and I swear to you, my God, that but for the clamours of the poor Catholics who have hope but in me, I should never be Queen or Dowager."⁵

¹ Corresp. diplom., VI., 398.

² Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 183.

³ The same to the same, 22d September, 1574.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 229.

⁴ The same to the same, 12th February 1576.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 282.

⁵ Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 180, 181.

In such a frame of mind, Mary was certainly more at rest than her enemies. Morton could hardly stand against a restless nobility ever ready to attack him. The revolt, which fear could no longer keep in check, was breaking out around him, and he was forced to withdraw into Edinburgh Castle, thinking that those who rebelled against him could not reach him there.¹ He had already quarrelled with England, and he was now on the point of having to struggle against her and Scotland combined. An unexpected event hastened the end, and gave the Regent the greatest fright that he had felt since his entrance into public life. The Wardens of the Marches, who had met in conference at Redsquair, agreed to hand over the fugitives to each other; but when Sir John Carmichael, Warden for Scotland, had given up the English, Sir John Forster refused to return the Scots. They came to blows, and the English got the worst of it, George Heron and twenty-four others being killed. Sir John Forster and several other English gentlemen were made prisoners, as well as the son of the Earl of Bedford. That adventure put Elizabeth into a great rage. The Regent, frightened at the boldness of his men, treated the prisoners with every possible attention, and without enquiring whether the fault lay with the English or the Scots, he sent the brave Carmichael to London to apologize to the Queen and pacify her. That step turned to his shame, for Elizabeth found, after inquiry, that the Scots were right.² Despite the exceptional cowardice of the Regent, the contest was more to the profit of Scotland than of England, from the fact that it threw an obstacle in the way of Killigrew, who had returned with large sums of money to gain possession of the person of the Prince.³

I think I ought not to pass over in silence a diversion which Leicester gave Elizabeth at the period which we have now reached, were it only to show what was in the sixteenth century a princely merry-making in England. La Mothe Fénelon, from whom I borrow this account, was among those invited; but the thought that his health could not stand so severe a trial kept him from joining the circle. "The Earl of Leicester," he says, "has given lodging in his castle to the Queen and her ladies, fourteen earls, and seventeen other principal lords; and has treated the whole Court to a hundred and sixty dishes in twelve days, and consumed, among other things, sixteen hogsheads of wine, forty hogsheads of beer, and ten oxen, each day; with so great

¹ Corresp. diplom., VI., 451, 459, 464, 472.

² Corresp. diplom., VI., 478; Tytler's History of Scotland, IV., 7.

³ Craufurd's Memoirs, 281, 282; Camden, II., 269, 270; Spottiswoode, II., 198; Corresp. diplom., VI., 478, 480.

an abundance of all other sorts of good meats, fruits and preserves, that people have been amazed at it. Four hundred servants dressed in fresh liveries, besides gentlemen clad in velvet, served. They enjoyed hunting and other field sports, and comedies and dancing indoors, all got up so admirably, that, for a long time past, nothing more magnificent has been seen in this kingdom."¹

The removal of la Mothe Fénelon, which took place in the month of September, very much grieved the Queen of Scots. She felt the loss keenly when she saw removed from her one so devoted as he had been. La Mothe Fénelon was for Mary more than a counsellor; he was a friend who neglected no opportunity of doing her good. Until the end he had shown by his acts how great an interest he took in her misfortunes; he had deserved the reproach of being as much the ambassador of the Queen of Scots as of the King of France.² Believing that Mary was innocent, he ever served her with zeal and disinterestedness; he had suspected on his arrival in England that hatred would pursue that Princess until death, and he had resolved to support her cause.³ Through seven long years he was as devoted to her as on the first day. "I shall do all in my power," he wrote to Henry III., "to get leave to visit the Queen of Scots and the Prince, her son, on the part of your Majesty, and I shall there do you all the service that it may please you to command me, without sparing my health, or even my life, if need be."⁴ Mary appreciated all the delicacy of the ambassador's conduct; she felt grateful to him for his attachment, and called herself "his very much obliged and good friend;"⁵ and would gladly have given him other proofs of her gratitude. She said to him, "You have obliged me so much in all ways, that I cannot thank you enough, in my present state. In my powerlessness, I hope my relatives will be grateful, and reward you and yours, on all occasions that may offer, for services done me. As for me, I can testify my gratitude only by praying God constantly, as I do with all my heart, that he may grant you a long and happy life."⁶

On having accredited to her Court, Castelnau de Mauvissière, Mary lost by the change, and perhaps la Mothe Fénelon, whom Castelnau had provoked by his conduct,⁷ took care to warn her of his successor's

¹ Corresp. diplom., VI., 479. "Je me fusse trouvé là, ainsi que le dict Sieur Comte m'en avoit fort pryé, mais je ne me suys estimé avoyr assez de santé pour l'ozer employer, sinon là ou l'exprès service de Vos Majestez le requerra."—Id. *ibid.*

² Corresp. diplom., VI., 419; VII., 447.

³ Corresp. diplom., I., 23.

⁴ Corresp. diplom., VI., 495.

⁵ Various letters of Mary to la Mothe Fénelon.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 209, 224, 242.

⁶ Mary Stuart to la Mothe Fénelon, 14th September, 1574.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 221.

⁷ Corresp. diplom., VI., 479.

disposition. This, however, is certain, that the captive, informed of his blunders and of his weakness for England,¹ accorded him at first but little esteem.² Their relations, however, became more intimate, when Castelnau joined la Mothe Fénelon, and tried to loosen the deeply-cutting and cruel cord of her captivity.³

England and Scotland, busy with their wars and their ambitions, had forgotten Bothwell. Morton reaped the benefit of the King's murder, and was far from heeding the lot of his unfortunate accomplice who reaped only the loss. Bothwell had made up his mind on the subject. Forgotten by his friends and fellow-countrymen, detained at the Castle of Malmoë, he led there a noisy and dissolute life; there was nothing but hunting and feasting. It mattered little to him by whom and how Scotland was governed, seeing that he had no longer anything in common with it. If, at times, in the midst of his orgies, he turned towards the past, it was to curse it and proclaim the innocence of the Queen.⁴

That rough life soon ruined his constitution. In the spring of 1576, when very ill, and in fear of the near approach of death, he made a very solemn avowal of Mary Stuart's innocence. That avowal crossed the seas, and thrilled all hearts in England, France and Scotland. No one was indifferent to it: honest hearts welled over with hope, while the wicked, terrified by that phantom which they thought had vanished, trembled on seeing the veil which covered their criminal plots, rent asunder. It was a period of most anxious suspense, for everybody knew Mary Stuart's distress. Guilty, she was pitied; but if innocent, is she not worthy of the crown of martyrdom? The secret of devotion to her cause was explained.

¹ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 285, 315.

² Various letters of Mary Stuart.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 328, 329, 347, 372.

³ Mary Stuart to M. de Mauvissière, 12th March, 1576.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 307.

⁴ "Et vivens et moriens Reginam minime consciam fuisse religiosa asseveratione sæpe-numero contestatus est."—Camden, II., 118; *Affaires du Comte de Boduel*, App. iv., xliii.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1576—1578.

BOTHWELL'S DECLARATION—ELIZABETH'S ANXIETY—MARY'S JOY—STEPS TAKEN BY MARY TO PROCURE THE DECLARATION—BARCLAY IMPRISONED—HAPPINESS OF THE YOUNG PRINCE—FREDERICK II. AND BOTHWELL—CONDUCT OF LADY LENNOX TOWARDS THE REGENT AND MARY STUART—MARY'S RIGHTS ACKNOWLEDGED—PROJECT OF ALLIANCE WITH DON JUAN OF AUSTRIA—FEARS IN ENGLAND—WALSINGHAM'S ANXIETY—DRAFT OF A WILL OF MARY STUART—LEICESTER AT BUXTON—OXFORD BLACK ASSIZES—A COMET APPEARS—PUBLIC OUTCRY AGAINST THE CATHOLICS—MORTON AND THE PRINCE—EMIGRATION OF SCOTS—MARY STUART'S FEARS FOR HER SON—HER LOVE FOR HIM—PERSECUTION OF MARY STUART—AFFAIRS IN FLANDERS—PROJECTS FORMED IN REFERENCE TO THE YOUNG PRINCE—MARY AND DON JUAN—THE EARLS OF ARGVLL AND ATHOLE OPPOSE MORTON—DOWNFALL OF THE REGENT.

NOTWITHSTANDING the attacks upon Mary's habits, innocence and liberty, she remained firm, and resolved to endure anything rather than forfeit her honour. Weak as she appeared, she was, however, the trouble of crowned heads. She often embittered Elizabeth's prosperity, and drove into her heart, anxiety, remorse and black envenomed envy. Her name uttered in a moment of joy was enough to check the laugh on the lips of the Queen of England. By dint of misfortunes nobly borne, Mary had gained general esteem ; her enemies had relented, and those who still thought her guilty, could not help pitying her sad fate. Elizabeth, embarrassed with her victim, did not know whether she ought to pardon her or put her to death. Her pride balanced her pity. She reproached herself with cruelty, was sorry she had gone so far, and then redoubled her severity to stifle remorse. She wished her out of the world, that she might have no longer before her eyes the living proof of her hatred and ferocity. Mary bore ill treatment patiently, awaiting a better lot, if not in this life, at least in the next.

Matters were in that state when Bothwell's testamentary declaration made its appearance. The odious ruffian, frightened by the approach of death, dared not take with him to the tomb the frightful secret of so many revolutions and so many disasters. Before the Bishop of Scania

and eight lords, with death staring him in the face, he made the solemn confession that the Queen had never known of the conspiracy to bring about the King's death, and, therefore, could not have consented to it ; that he, and his friends, by his order, had done the deed with the consent and written approval of various lords, who, however, were not present at the execution. He then named the principal accomplices.¹

That important declaration, sent by Frederic II. to Elizabeth, gave her trouble. It was all over ; there was no resource left. Mary Stuart's innocence was proclaimed ; Europe was undeceived, and the barbarous gaolers of that noble Princess were covered with shame. Elizabeth destroyed the document which was sent her, thinking she could at the same time destroy the truth.² But it was too late ; the report of the declaration had gone over the world. Catherine de Médicis had asked Frederic for Bothwell's testament in due form, and Mary likewise demanded that the declaration should be presented to her. "I have been informed," she wrote to her ambassador in France, "of the death of the Earl of Bothwell, and that, with his last breath, he made an ample confession of his crimes, and declared himself author, and guilty of the murder of the late King, my husband, of which he clears me, and swears my innocence at the risk of his soul's damnation ; and as that testimony would be of great importance to me against the false calumnies of my enemies, I pray you to inquire as to its truth by any means whatever. Those who were present at the said declaration, since signed and sealed by them, in form of a testament, are Otto Braw, of the Castle of Elcembrø, Paris Braw, of the Castle of Vascut, Mons. Gullunstarne, of the Castle of Fulkenster, the Bishop of Skonen, and four bailiffs of the town. If de Monceaux, who formerly negotiated in that country, would take a journey there, to inquire more particularly into the matter, and bring back the proofs thereof, I should be glad to employ him for the purpose, and to have money given him for his journey."³ The Archbishop of Glasgow also, thought de Monceaux ought to be sent to Denmark ; but the wretched state to which Mary's dower from France had been reduced, and the consequent want of money compelled him to delay, as de Monceaux would not "undertake the journey unless he got ready money."⁴ Economy had to be practised till the money was found ; but by a fatality, de Monceaux, after receiving the money, refused to go to Denmark, asserting that the five hundred

¹ Teulet, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, 242, 244 ; Bishop Keith, App., 144.

² Bishop Keith, App., 143.

³ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 1st June 1576.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 330.

⁴ Bishop Keith, App., 142.

livres, offered him for the journey, were due to him for previous services.¹

In spite of that unfeeling conduct, Bothwell's testament was coming to light; it was spoken of in London as a well known matter. Scotland alone seemed still unaware of that which was of such vast importance to her. A certain Gartely or Barclay brought the news of it from England. He was imprisoned for repeating what he had heard in London. That severity on the part of Morton, while arousing curiosity, served rather to give publicity to the declaration than to hush it up, and the lords hostile to the Regent were not long in procuring it.

One day, when the Controller Tullibardine was mentioning it to a gentleman in the Prince's chamber, the child, rising from the table at which he was writing, came forward to them and demanded to see what the Controller had in his hand. Tullibardine, after several refusals, was obliged to show it to him. The young Prince read it from beginning to end, gave it back without saying a single word, and quietly resumed his work. When he had finished, he began to converse with the gentlemen of his household so heartily, and so graciously, that the Controller noticed it. "Tullibardine," replied the Prince, "have I not very good reason to rejoice, for whereas up till this time grievous accusations and calumnies have been all along instilled into my mind against her Majesty, my mother, this day I have seen a clear declaration of her innocence."²

The proofs of her innocence grew stronger and stronger; and the meshes of that subtly-woven net in which the guilty nobles had enfolded the Queen of Scots were giving way, and hope foretold that she should yet be free from it. The King of Denmark did not confine himself to the reports of his agents, but questioned the prisoner himself, who said in reply, "the Queen is innocent of all knowledge or previous information about the death of her husband: the bastard Moray began, Morton planned, and I did the deed."³

Through those repeated confessions some of the least wicked-hearted regicides were driven to atone for the murder, and repair,

¹ Bishop Keith, App., 142.

² Bishop Keith, App., 143.

³ "Regina cædis Darnlœanæ nec conscia nec prescia . . . Murrauius spurius, orsus est, Murtonius duxit, ego cædis hujus telam pertexui."—Michael Eytzinger's History of Queen Mary, MS. copy in the collection of the author, 74. The legend agrees with history on that important point—

"And weh maye move the mind not obstinate,
To houlde me innocent from this theire deed,
It is for trueth reported but of late
That Bothwell who in Denmarke had ill speed,
In prison dyed when sighinge harte did bleed,
Whilst Heaven and Earth he did to witness call
That I no knowledge had thereof at all."

—Legend of Mary Queen of Scots, attributed to Thomas Wenman (16th century).—Strophe cxxvii., Edition MDCCCX., p. 45.

See Proofs, viii., end of Vol. I.

as much as lay in their power, the evils of which they were the authors. James Balfour, who had had a hand in arranging the assassination bond,¹ openly took that course, and told the story of that fearful conspiracy.² But what, next to Bothwell's confession, gave the prisoner the most lively joy, was to find herself again loved by Darnley's mother. That woman, at the instigation of her husband, had offered her daughter-in-law shameful affronts. Lennox himself, forgetting all that was seemly, and outraging humanity by conduct which cannot be too strongly branded, taught Mary Stuart's son false tales concerning his mother,³ while Lady Lennox was associating with the murderers, who called themselves the avengers, and was loudly crying for justice and punishment.

Mary had patiently borne the curses of her mother-in-law, and kept a silence as modest as it was significant. The first time she wrote to her was on the 10th of July 1570. "Madame," said she, "if the wronge and false reportes ennemies well knowen for traytors to you, alas to muche trusted of me by your advise, had not so farr sturred you against my innocency (and I must saie against all kindnes), that you have not onelie as it were condemned me wrongfullie, but so hated, as your woordes and deedes hath testefied to all the worlde a manifest misliking in you against your own blood, I would not have obmitted thus long my duetie in writing to you, excusing me of those untrew reportes made of me: but hoping with Goddes grace and tyme to have my innocencie knowen to yow, as I trust it is alreadie to the most part of all indifferent persons, I thought best not to trouble you for a time till now that suche a mater is moved that toucheth us bothe, which is, the transporting of your little sonne and my onelie childe⁴ in this cuntrey, to the which, albeith I were never so willing yet I wolde be glad to have your advise therein as in all other thinges towching him. I have borne him, and God knoweth with what danger to him and to me bothe, and of you he is dissended, so I mene not to forget my duetie to you in showing therein anye unkindnes to you, how unkindlie that ever you have delt with me, but will love you as my aunte, and respect you as my mother in lawe."⁵

The subdued tone of that letter produced an impression on Lady Lennox: she thought of seeking a reconciliation with Mary. The bold

¹ Tytler's History of Scotland, III., 231.

² Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 18th March 1580.—Prince Labanoff, V., 137.

³ M. Wiesener, Marie Stuart, et le Comte de Bothwell, 510.

⁴ That passage, added to that of Mariorey-

banks (Annals of Scotland, 19), a cotemporary author who lived in Edinburgh, leaves no ground for the statement, sometimes made, that Mary had had a daughter also.

⁵ Mary Stuart to the Countess of Lennox, 10th July 1570.—Prince Labanoff, III., 77, 78.

statements of her husband and his friends scarcely prevented her from rushing into the arms of her daughter-in-law, whom she had so cruelly persecuted; and from that day she regretted the past and deeply pitied Mary Stuart. Morton especially was annoyed at the change: the hourly wails of a disconsolate mother justified Mary's captivity in the face of Europe; but as soon as those two women became friends, the idea of still keeping the Queen of Scots a prisoner must be given up. That reconciliation became day by day more likely.

The period of blind submission was past. Lady Lennox had been, like her daughter-in-law, severely dealt with by the English government, and innocent herself, she felt how shockingly Mary had been treated. Communion in misfortune opened her eyes: she lamented the fate of her poor daughter-in-law. Unfortunately she did so in vain: she had helped to bring about Mary's ruin, but could do nothing to save her from the abyss. In her distress, and to pour at least a little balm in the wounds which she had helped to keep open, she worked for Mary a small piece of embroidery, in which her white hairs were mingled with the linen threads.¹ Later, on the 6th of November 1575, she wrote: "It may please your Majesty, I have received your token and mind, both by your letter and other ways, much to my comfort, specially perceiving what zealous natural care your Majesty hath of our sweet and peerless jewell in Scotland (James VI.) . . . I beseech your Majesty, fear not, but trust in God that all shall be well; the treachery of your traitors is known better than before. I shall always play my part to your Majesty's content, willing God, so as may tend to booth our comforts. And now must I yield your Majesty my most humble thanks for your good remembrances and bounty to our little daughter (Arabella Stuart) here, who some day may serve your Highness, Almighty God grant, and to your Majesty long and happy life."²

A mother must be thoroughly aware of the innocence of her to whom she thus writes; and those who wish to reconcile those words with a guilt more or less great in Mary Stuart, know nothing of the human heart, and deceive themselves. Nothing compelled the Countess of Lennox to make such a confession; on the contrary, that step might have brought upon her the anger of both Elizabeth and Morton, who were far from forgiving. In short, had there been only the bloody body of Darnley, the remembrance of which time could not destroy,

¹ Miss Strickland, V., 231.

² Teulet, *Supplém. au Prince Labanoff*, 246.
The letter is reproduced in fac-simile in the

third volume of Miss Strickland's *Life of Queen Mary*.

and those ruins of Kirk-of-Field, which were preserved as a testimony against Mary Stuart, everything made it a duty for her to prolong her silence. Something, then, more certain than a vague sentiment was needed, and that was a clear and immovable conviction. The hand of any mother in the world would refuse to write such words to a woman red with blood and stained by infamy.

The end of the letter, written in the handwriting of Elizabeth Cavendish, is a proof that all the Lennox family held the same opinion regarding Mary Stuart's innocence. Every word springs from the heart, and goes right to the heart. She said, "I most humbly thank your Majesty that it pleased your Highness to remember me, your pore seruant, both wyth a token and in my Lady Grace's leter, which is not litell to my comfort. I can but wysh and pray God for your Majesty's long and hapy estate, tyl time I may do your Majesty beter seruiss, whych I think long to do; and shall allways be as redy therto as any seruant your Majesty hath, according as by duty I am bound. I besech your Hines parden thes rude lines, and accept the good hart of the wryter, who loves and honers your Majesty vnfaynedly."

"Your Majesty most humble and lowly servant during Life, E. LENNOX." The Countess signed opposite, "Your Majesti's most humble and loveing mothere and aunt, M. L." (Margaret Lennox).¹

That letter, artless and touching in its simplicity, never reached Mary; it was intercepted, and perhaps the captive never learned that her mother-in-law was so devoted to her. It was a misfortune for Mary then; but now, it is a homage paid to her memory, and a testimony so much the more precious as it was providentially handed down to us by her deadliest enemies.

That likely re-union, so much to be wished for, made Morton furious. Seeing that flattery and falsehood had no longer any power over the Countess, and that, on the contrary, her love for Mary Stuart grew apace, he tried to frighten her, and wrote to her a letter, "the most insolent and the most disdainful that a king could write to the lowest lord among his subjects." The Countess of Lennox communicated the letter to her daughter-in-law, so that Morton's efforts, instead of separating them, strengthened their friendship. Mary Stuart said on the subject: "I praise God that she (the Countess) is beginning to know, day after day, the faithlessness and wicked intentions of those who have in days past made use of her name against myself, their

¹ Miss Strickland, fac-simile, III., 373.

designs having always been against our race, as clearly appears now."¹

The Countess of Lennox was drawing near to the end of her troubles. Her health, undermined by grief and care, had been much weakened, and the death of Charles, the only son she had left, dealt her the last blow, when she followed him to the grave after a year had gone. "This good lady," wrote Mary, "was, thanks to God, in very good correspondence with me these five or six years bygone, and has confessed to me by sundry letters under her hand, which I carefully preserve, the injury she did me by the unjust pursuits which she allowed to go out against me in her name, through bad information; but principally she said, through the express orders of the Queen of England, and the persuasion of her Council, who also took much solicitude that she and I might never come to good understanding together. But how soon she came to know of my innocence, she desisted from any further pursuit against me; nay went so far as to refuse her consent to anything they should act against me in her name."²

To prevent the compromising confessions which might have been made by Darnley's old servants who had remained until then with the Countess of Lennox, Leicester took them forcibly to his castle, and at the same time seized the papers of the Lennox family.³ That was a useless precaution; for what has reached us is quite enough to prove Mary's innocence. Those stray fragments; the confessions of Bothwell, Sir J. Balfour, and Lady Lennox; the acts of Lethington and Kirkaldy, the words spoken at the gibbet by those found guilty, to which are soon to be added those of Morton and Archibald Douglas, as well as Mary Stuart's attitude, all clearly show her innocence. As time passes, proofs accumulate, hatred weakens, and the guilty listen to the whisperings of conscience; remorse and conviction will not allow so great a secret to be kept for a lifetime; the good and bad of the human heart bring about the same result; the story told by the murderers begins to vary little by little, and all of them during life, or at the near approach of death, confess things long locked in their bosoms.

To keep the narrative clear, and avoid referring again to Mary Stuart's relations with her mother-in-law, I have been obliged to relate them in full up to the death of the Countess, in the month of March, 1578, without heeding the order of events. The Queen of

¹ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.
—Prince Labanoff, IV., 398.

² Queen Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow,

her ambassador in France, 2d May, 1578.—
Bishop Keith, app. 146.

³ M. Wiesener, *Marie et le Comte de Bothwell*, 525.

Scots had, however, other grounds for rejoicing. The year 1576, which had seen her innocence shine forth from under a cloud of suspicion, was besides to see her rights to the throne of England acknowledged and proclaimed. Elizabeth first brought forward the subject. That haughty sovereign was not so blinded by the splendour of her throne, as not to see the anxieties and leanings of a certain class regarding her successor. The marriage which she had been for so long a time negotiating with the Duke d'Alençon, who had become the Duke d'Anjou, did not quite please the English people. Elizabeth herself attached value to it only because it served her policy. She had other anxieties ; her prestige as a queen had lost its charms and its sweetness ; her heart was glutted with cruelty ; her policy, shrouded in falsehood, was everywhere mistrusted ; the foreigner hated her ; her own people trembled before her ; there were warlike preparations without ; discord was fermenting within ; the people full of hatred and mistrust waited only for the best time to break out. She felt old before her time. In one of those moments of disgust which later on often saddened her old age, she had the will of King Henry VIII. brought her. She read it, saw Mary Stuart's rights clearly stated, and said that she had no other will than that of her father. Nevertheless the idea of Mary Stuart being her heir troubled her ; the mere thought being unbearable, she laid the question before the two Presidents of the Chambers, begging them to reply. They, afraid to answer, asked the Queen's leave to keep silent on the subject, but Elizabeth insisted. "Madam," replied the juriconsults, "the throne belongs by right to him to whom nature gives it." Elizabeth was not satisfied with that reply ; she wished to know precisely who was her heir ; and she did hear it : "What," exclaimed she, "the Queen of Scots my heiress !" She sent away the two presidents. Deeply troubled in mind by that decision she called Leicester and Walsingham. "I see clearly," said she to them, "that henceforth people will court my heir ; the old are slighted ; the setting sun is forsaken that one may turn towards the beams of the rising sun."¹ Influenced by their decision, she, for a moment, wisely thought of attaching Mary Stuart to her person, but jealousy again getting the master, she forbade any one, under penalty of high treason, to talk of her successor, and again became cold and harsh tempered.²

¹ Castelnau to the King, 29th February, and 8th April.—Teulet, III., 4, 5 ; Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 31st May.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 315.

² Castelnau to the King and to the Queen-mother.—Teulet, III., 9, 17.

Rumours then current in France changed those frivolous anxieties into real fears. The report was that a colossal invasion got up by the King of Spain, and given in charge to Don Juan, was about to attack England, ravage the island, overthrow Elizabeth, and place upon her throne, Mary Stuart, as Queen of Great Britain. People said that the hand of the Scottish Queen was promised to him who should free her.¹ The idea of an invasion soon vanished; but it was not so with the marriage; it was long a source of uneasiness to the English. Walsingham busied himself about it, watching every step of Mary Stuart's friends; but, to his great grief, he was not able to find out anything precise.²

The broken health of the victim, while warning her that each day brought her nearer to the tomb, led her to write in the spring of the year 1577 the draft of a will which has been preserved for us. In it are found the following words which give proof of her Christian heroism. "In order to go my way with a clearer and more entire heart, and from this moment throwing off all resentment for injuries, calumnies, rebellions, and other offences which have been done me during my life, by my rebellious subjects and other enemies, I leave my vengeance to God, and beg Him to pardon them, with the same earnestness as I entreat His pardon for my faults, and the forgiveness of all those whom I may have offended in deed or in word."³ She afterwards settled the order of her succession; the throne belonged to her son, and in the event of his death, to the house of Lennox or Hamilton; but for her son she imposed a restriction. The martyr queen could not suffer an apostate son; the daughter of the Guises rose above the question of blood when it was a matter of defending her faith. She made a gift to the Catholic King of her rights over England and elsewhere, if her son stubbornly remained a heretic.⁴ That settlement would go to prove that her religious feelings were stronger than motherly love, had not Mary at the same time chosen infallible means for bringing her son back to Catholicism by asking the Guises to bring him up beside them in France.⁵ Neither Spain nor France could be dissatisfied; the former would have the rights to the throne, the latter the heir to that same throne, and France, which

¹ Various Letters of Mary Stuart.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 346, 365; 371. Strada's History of the Low Countreys Warres, VIII, 16.

² Mary Stuart to Andrew Beaton and the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 378, 383.

³ Prince Labanoff, IV., 353.

⁴ Id. Ibid, 354.

⁵ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff, IV. 399,

had declared that it no longer had anything to do with Scotland or its Queen,¹ was interested in watching over the Prince so as to protect its own interests. Mary gave proof of real genius in that combination.

The few weeks which the Queen of Scots spent at Buxton were for her a period of sweet rest. Either by chance or design, the Earl of Leicester, too, happened to be at Buxton. His relations with the Sheffield prisoner were full of good will, and seemed somewhat confidential. Mary kept reserved, and she was right to be so; for Leicester was watched. Burghley jealous of the favourite, had set out after him, and had come into his (Burghley's) estate near Buxton, on his way to the watering place, when very unexpectedly a letter from Elizabeth reached him, bidding him return to the capital. He did so with regret; and for the disgrace into which Leicester soon after fell Burghley doubtless was to be thanked. That season at the watering-place, already hurtful to Leicester through Burghley's jealousy, became almost fatal to him through the anger of Sussex, who threatened to kill him, no matter by what means, if Elizabeth forbade single combat. The all-powerful favourite, made anxious by those threats, returned to Court, and gave up all thought of interceding in favour of the Queen of Scots.²

With the exception of those private quarrels, England was peaceful, and the people, under an iron rule, lived free from all anxiety. The severity with which the least breach of the law was punished ensured public quiet. A frightful disease was the result of that severity. The large numbers of prisoners huddled together in the Oxford dungeons were first attacked, and then gave the disease to those about the courts, of whom about three hundred were cut off in a few days. The scourge was carried by the Thames to London, where it spread terror and dismay. There was a panic, and historians have since written of the time as the Black Assizes of Oxford.³

Elizabeth had scarcely recovered from her fright, when she fell into low spirits, owing to the appearance of a comet. Superstition, ever awakened by those wandering bodies, was now fully roused; it was noised abroad that the same comet had approached the earth at the deaths of Henry VIII., Prince Edward and Mary, father, brother and sister of Elizabeth. The sufferings of the Queen from a severe catarrh were also grounds for dread. The Bishop of London deemed the

¹ M. Mignet, *Histoire de Marie Stuart*, II., 202.

² Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 370, 371.

Camden, II., 285; Sergeant Fleetwood to Lord Burghley, 30th July 1577.—Ellis, II., iii., 53 sq.

matter so important that he made it the subject of a sermon ; others imitated him. From that time, several fanatical preachers discoursed at great length on the influences of the comet, and launched their most solemn curses against France and Spain, because the comet looked towards those two countries.¹

I should not have said anything of the comet, or of the interpretations to which it gave rise, had not its return been the signal for the persecution of the Catholics. Cuthbert Maine was the first to pay with his life for his attachment to the old belief. He was executed in Cornwall ; while the gentleman who had given him shelter was condemned to imprisonment for life and to forfeiture of his estates. The hatred of the Reformers, growing with success, now fell in bitter words on Mary Stuart.²

That Princess had something else to do at the time than repel the foolish threats uttered against her, all her solicitude being for the young Prince. Morton was becoming more and more powerful. That Regent, greedy and brutish, had by his boldness restored peace to turbulent Scotland. Hatred dared not attack him ; all courage gave way before his violence. To ruin him, people attempted to make him odious to the Prince. That attempt had no more success than open force had had, for the Regent undertook his own defence, and the dread of him wrung a forgiveness little likely to have been shown to his statements. On seeing him, supported by Sir William Drury and a powerful escort, come to justify himself before the Prince, one must have thought rather of a foreign invasion than of a Regent's visit. The Prince and those around him, through fear, were forced to confess that the state was administered in the best way. History, exempt from fear, has given another verdict, and has confirmed what the ambassador Castelnau said of Morton, that he was "ever avaricious and exacting towards the people, much more hated than loved, and every day in danger of being killed."³ The oppression of Scotland for so many years was the cause of those successive emigrations which greatly weakened the country during Morton's regency.⁴

The Prince felt, as it were, the counter-stroke of that tyrannical government. His education was carried on under great difficulties. A room being set apart for his games, he was seldom seen in the

¹ Castelnau to the Queen-mother.—Teulet, III., 17, 18.

² Camden, II., 286. Castelnau to the Queen-mother.—Teulet, III., 16.

Castelnau to the King.—Teulet, III., 14, 15.

⁴ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 5th November 1577.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 400. Corresp. diplom., VI., 497 et passim. Various Despatches of Simancas.—Teulet, V., 130, 141, 159.

garden, never in the park.¹ Whatever interest might have been taken in him by the lords entrusted with his education and safe-keeping, they could not allow him that liberty. They were severe from prudence, fearing that Morton might carry off the Prince, and the zeal with which they watched over him gained for several among them the praise of Mary Stuart.² Morton, meanwhile, did all he could to make them odious to their royal pupil ; but the child would love them. "Why," said he one day to the Prince, "do you not go to the hunt in the neighbourhood of Stirling? Why do you not take more freedom?" "My books suffice me," replied the young King; "besides, I shall be free in two years." That reply, which required no commentary, irritated the Regent, and he showed his annoyance by bitter words, in which injured pride was mingled with dread.³

It will be easily understood that Mary, informed of Morton's dealings, sought to save her son. Her letters are full of the most tender sentiments, and of a mother's most natural aspirations : she lived only for her son and her faith. On the 2d of September she wrote, "It will be a consolation for me to hear news of my son, and to let him have news from me ; the object of all my hopes being the preservation of this poor child, forsaken by all his friends, and left me as certainly the best pledge for the end of my adversities and the prolongation of my life."⁴ "Yes," she wrote two months later, "any man of good sense will know the little heed I took of my own safety, and the troubles which may have befallen me in this captivity, as long as I had in view the safety of my son and the Catholics of this island. . . . It would be difficult to induce me to change the state in which I have lived since my widowhood, as neither my liberty nor my private will is so dear to me as the bringing back this island to the Catholic Church, and the preserving of my rights for my son ; those are the points for which I wish to live, and for the attainment of which I am pleased to bear such treatment in my captivity."⁵

¹ Castelnau to the King.—Teulet, III., 15.
Nau to Castelnau.—Ibidem, III., 49.

² Various Letters of Mary Stuart, IV., 399 ; V., 5, 25.

³ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 398.

⁴ Mary Stuart to Castelnau, 2d September.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 393.

⁵ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 6th November.—Prince Labanoff, V., 4, 8, 9. "It was feared in England that Mary,

once free, might convert her son to Catholicism ; the King of Spain hoped so, and it is almost certain that such would have happened if this religious and tender mother had had her child under her own charge."—Gray's Papers, 136. "Ad hoc autem institutum promovendum, filium meum ad Ecclesiæ sinum accersere omnibus maternæ pietatis officiis jam aggressa."—Mary Stuart to Pope Gregory XIII. Teulet, Supplém. au Prince Labanoff, 305. (31st July 1581.)

Her treatment continued to be rigorous. Elizabeth, hardened in her hatred, was never weary of persecuting; she wished to force convictions, and to prove to the world by the great and lasting punishments that she did not doubt the guilt of the Queen of Scots.

In presence of that cold and premeditated barbarism which nothing could soften, Mary, calmer than upon the throne, bore her destiny with heroism. She had seen her friends fall around her, and the men of her party and their plans fail; she had seen the daughter of Henry VIII., like one of those women whom antiquity depicts to us as bloodthirsty, brandishing the axe over the head of her defenders, unmercifully ruining her most brilliant prospects, and everywhere spreading terror and sorrow; she herself was exposed to the greatest dangers, being on the eve of a closer seclusion, where it would be almost impossible to correspond with her ambassador; her soul, nevertheless, rose equal to the dangers; she took in, with the same glance, her position and the means of supporting it. "If it so happened," she wrote, "that I should be deprived of my letters and communications, you may, under pretence of sending me some book, write in white between the lines (*alum* seems to me the most suitable, or *gall-nut*); and although such stratagems are risky and vulgar, they may be of use to me in extreme need, if sent me by the carrier of this place, who is not so closely watched, that, among the things which he brings me, he may not hand to me secretly what may be written on in that manner, without his noticing it himself."²

Elizabeth dreaded very much the complaints of her victim. The peculiar position of her government obliged her to make friends among the Catholics. France, it is true, caused her but little trouble, because Catherine de Médicis gladly saw in prison the Princess who had formerly supplanted her at the Court.³ But Don Juan, on account of his power and ambition, was an ever-present and ever-serious danger. Fear forced the English Cabinet to impose new sacrifices upon itself, so as to check the Prince in the midst of his conquests. The rumours which had caused so many troubles during the previous year were again set afloat: it was maintained that the King of Spain had had the English ports examined, that Mary Stuart's hand was promised to Don Juan, that of the young Prince to a Princess of Lorraine, and that the invasion of England was talked

¹ Don. J. de Vargas Mexia to Philip II., 31st December 1577.—Teulet, V., 132.

² Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff, V., 10.

³ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff, V., 23.

of on the Continent.' Because of those rumours, circulated by the ministers themselves, the English government got ready men and money, and sent them secretly to the Prince of Orange. Flanders again took up arms, and the insurrection gained ground. In a short time the Low Countries were in a blaze. Don Juan saw himself forsaken: he had neither men nor money. Chance provided him with money, and the arrival of Alexander Farnesse gave him hope for another victory: he defeated the enemy at the battle of Gemblours (21st January).²

Although that victory established the power of Philip II. in the Low Countries, and permitted him to act with more boldness, the affairs of Scotland derived no benefit from it. Catherine de Médicis joined with Elizabeth to make matters worse; and, by the perfidious manœuvres of those two Queens, the Scots found themselves abandoned all at once by the Pope and by the Kings of France and Spain. The project of Mary to send her son to the Continent, if any reliable guarantee were given, became impracticable, and any family union with the Catholic powers, morally impossible.³

Very fortunately Morton had no longer any chance of handing over the Prince to the English, pre-occupied as he was with the turn which his own affairs were taking. By his harshness and excesses of all kinds, which no good quality redeemed, he had himself prepared his ruin; and, if one thing is to be wondered at, it is that it did not come sooner. The lords who lived in Stirling reluctantly bore the iron yoke which Morton had placed upon them; but as they were too weak to overthrow the established government, they took their revenge by lowering him in the eyes of the young Prince. Their words filled the child's heart with a bitter hatred, which Mary's son did not dissemble. A faction was formed, which ambition and anger rapidly swelled. The Earls of Argyll and Athole, whom Morton had had the imprudence to accuse falsely of treason, entered into it through a desire for vengeance. In an interview with the young Prince, they showed him a sad picture of the state of the country; of the degradation into which the nobility was falling; of the misery and despair of the Scots, unmercifully robbed; of the injustice of which they themselves, the richest and most powerful lords, had been the victims; in short, they persuaded the Prince to

¹ Don J. de Vargas Mexia to Philip II., 16th February 1578.—Archives de l'Empire; Fonds de Simancas, liasse B. 45, No. 30; and Teulet, V., 137.

² G. de Curiel to Philip II., 10th January

1578.—Archives de l'Empire; Fonds de Simancas, liasse B. 45, No. 39; Prince Labanoff, V., 16.

³ Various letters of Mary Stuart.—Prince Labanoff, V., 5, 22, 23, 57-59.

assemble the States, and elect a Council which might rule in his name. Alexander Erskine, governor of the young King, endorsed those views.¹

Letters of convocation were now drawn out in the name of the Prince, and sent almost exclusively to Morton's enemies, who were in a majority in the parliament. Morton had prepared himself for the struggle; but, on seeing men's minds excited to such a degree, he seemed resolved to quit the Regency. He perhaps hoped by that mark of disinterestedness to keep on his side those who were least hostile to him; or, labouring under a delusion as to his own merits, he possibly thought he was the only man capable of governing Scotland. Whether his reflections were such or not, Morton, shut up in his castle at Dalkeith, which the people called the Lion's Den, seemed quite careless as to the debates. When Lord Herries came to inform him, while in Edinburgh, of the King's will, and ask him to resign the Regency, he received the news with an apparent joy. He immediately repaired to the Market Cross, and, in presence of all the people, laid down his authority in favour of the young King, and withdrew, firm and unmoved, to his estates, where he devoted himself to agriculture and gardening.²

From his retreat he could hear the far-off echoes of the public rejoicings, held rather on account of his fall than for the accession of the new King; and those repeated cheers no doubt more than once pierced that heart which pride and ambition had already wounded. He felt himself degraded; he had outlived his days of prosperity; much more, he lived only to be the scorn and laughing-stock of the people. The act of approbation which the King had given him by way of discharge, and the pardon which he had obtained for his past crimes, offences and treason, did not suffice to reassure him. The public ill-will, far from being quieted, grew apace. The ambassador of England, seeing that the esteem for Morton had fallen with his power, did not know how to raise it. "All the devils in hell," he wrote, "are stirring and in great rage in this country."³ All that he could obtain for this faithful ally of England was to have him appointed a mere member in the Council of Regency.⁴

¹ Don J. de Vargas Mexia to Philip II.—Teulet, V., 138; Craufurd's Memoirs, 290.

² De Vargas Mexia to Philip II., 26th April.—Teulet, V., 148; Moyse's Memoirs, 2; Craufurd's Memoirs, 292-296.

³ Randolph to Killigrew, 20th March.—Tytler, IV., 13.

⁴ Castelnau to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 20th March 1578.—Archives de l'Empire; Fonds de Simancas, liasse B. 46, No. 150.

CHAPTER XIX.

1578—1581.

STIRLING SURPRISED—MORTON'S RETURN TO POWER—HOSTILITIES IN SCOTLAND—MARY'S COMPARATIVE LIBERTY—ELIZABETH'S ILLNESS—HER RELATIONS WITH THE KING OF SCOTLAND—DEATH OF ATHOLE—ELIZABETH'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE DUKE D'ANJOU—HUMILIATION OF THE HAMILTONS—NAU'S JOURNEY TO SCOTLAND—UNFORTUNATE POSITION OF MARY STUART—HER RESOLVES ABOUT HER SON—ARRIVAL OF D'AUBIGNY IN SCOTLAND—CALUMNIES SPREAD AGAINST MARY—D'AUBIGNY IN FAVOUR AT COURT—ENMITY BETWEEN D'AUBIGNY AND MORTON—FRESH CRUELITIES TOWARDS MARY—AFFAIRS IN IRELAND—PERSECUTION OF THE CATHOLICS—ARREST OF MORTON—HIS TRIAL AND EXECUTION.

ELIZABETH was sorely grieved at the fall of a man who was so devoted to her, but the time for action had not yet come; the war in Flanders did not permit her to send troops into Scotland, and she was, besides, too much threatened even in England to think of defending Morton. Don Juan had not entirely given up his plans, and the Duke de Guise, after planning the invasion, earnestly begged Philip II. to come to some conclusion.¹ Those various circumstances enabled the Scottish lords to form their government in perfect freedom. The power, outside the Council of twelve, was entirely in the hands of the Earls of Athole and Argyll.²

Although apparently resigned, Morton left no means untried to regain power. A first attempt, to seize the young King while walking, very nearly succeeded, and the Prince must have fallen into the hands of his enemies, had not the scheme been revealed in time. The Prince's governor and his attendants were sauntering within a few steps of the ambuscade, when a horseman rushed up, shouting, Treason! The lords made off at full gallop, and closed the gates of the Castle behind them. Three cannon shots let the Scots know that the King was in danger. Several conspirators were seized, but the rest fled: the ambuscade numbered about eight hundred men.³

¹ Vargas Mexia to Philip II., 13th April, Teulet, V., 143, sq.

² Vargas Mexia to Philip II., 6th May, Teulet, V., 149. Cf. the Argyll Letters, 17.

³ Vargas Mexia to Philip II., 14th May, Teulet, V., 154, 155.

Morton now tried to get by stratagem what he could not get by boldness. He drew near to the young Earl of Mar, and to the Countess, his mother, and made them understand that Alexander Erskine was bent upon their ruin, and that he had resolved to remove them from the King's person, drive them into obscurity, and make them powerless; he insisted on the need they had to defend their rights without delay, so as to avoid the ignominy which was sure to follow on their disgrace. Those considerations induced the ambitious Countess and her son to join with Morton, and on the 26th of April they took possession of the Castle by treachery, and handed it over to Morton's friends.¹

The unexpected return of the former rule, and its severity, while making the lords fear revenge and reprisals without end, induced them to come to terms with Morton. Four persons on each side met near Dalkeith to settle the difference, but while they were discussing the clauses of the agreement, the ex-Regent left Dalkeith in the middle of the night, and hastened to Stirling, where he was warmly welcomed. That bold step put quite a new face on matters; the whole of Scotland, a prey to fear, could only hope on; the Regent's former friends who had forsaken him in his misfortune, dreaded his revenge, and joined with his enemies to oppose him; ambition, until then listless and unaspiring, embraced the side of the restoration. The result was a kind of civil war: bands of armed men overran the country as in the time of an invasion.

A letter, really from Morton, but as if from the young King, which letter called together the nobility, not at Edinburgh, as was usual, but at Stirling, increased the disorder, and justified the fears. The lords of the northern counties, considering that royal order as a mockery, refused to obey;² others, less obstinate, but not less mistrustful, came with their followers and their vassals armed as for war. The Earl of Athole offered a most energetic resistance. "The King," said he, "is (then) Morton's prisoner; the pretended councillors are his slaves; a Parliament to which all the nobles may repair without fear, and where they may deliberate with freedom, is absolutely necessary for quieting the nation after disorders of such long continuance; but in an assembly called contrary to all form, held within the walls of a garrison, and overawed by armed men, what safety could members expect? What

¹ Balfour's *Annales*, I., 366, 367; Tytler's *History*, IV., 14.

² Vargas Mexia to Philip II., 17th August. —Teulet, V., 157.

liberty could prevail in debate? Or what benefit result to the public?"¹

Morton would not be checked either by the opposition which he met, or by any other consideration. On the 25th of July the Parliament was opened by the King in person. The lords had just taken their places, when Montrose and Lindsay came forward in the name of Athole, Argyll and their adherents. The two envoys complained that the Parliament was held in Stirling, against all precedent, and against the will of a great number of the nobles, and at last protested their disavowal. Lindsay showed his determination with a fierce energy. Morton interrupted him, and ordered him to be seated. "I shall sit down," replied the old Lord, "only in obedience to the command of my King." The King repeated Morton's order, and the difficulty seemed to be over. Morton took Athole's place without any one speaking of the rudeness of that conduct, and the States proceeded to the election of the "Lords of the Articles." That last affront offered to the persons whose opinions Lindsay represented, roused his indignation. "My Lords," exclaimed he, "I call you all to witness that every act of such a Parliament is null, and the choosing of the lords an empty farce." That second attack irritated Morton. "Think ye," cried he, towering with rage, "that this is a court of churls or brawlers? Take your own place, and thank God that the King's youth keeps you safe from his resentment." "I have served the King in his minority," said Lindsay, "as faithfully as the proudest among ye, and I think to serve his Grace no less truly in his majority." Morton, not wishing to prolong the discussion, whispered a few words to the King, and the latter, blushing, spoke these few words: "Lest any man should judge this not to be a free Parliament, I declare it free, and those who love me will think as I think." Lindsay was silent; Montrose, on the contrary, made all speed to Edinburgh to the lords siding with the young Prince, and, in the name of the young Prince, called them to come and drive away his oppressors.²

Athole did not hesitate to raise the royal standard. He had had painted thereon these telling words: "Liberty I crave, and cannot it have." The firmness, power and well-known disinterestedness of the Earl drew around him Morton's enemies, and in a week he was found to be the Regent's most formidable enemy. Feeling he was

¹ Robertson's History of Scotland, II., 64.

² Craufurd's Memoirs, 302, sq.; Tytler's History, IV., 16.

well enough supported, he then repaired to Edinburgh, along with the Earl of Argyll, several members of the Council, and some of the nobility, raised large forces, and advanced at the head of seven or eight thousand men, to within three leagues of Stirling, to rescue the King.¹

Morton, enraged when he saw revolt become so serious, gave the Earl of Angus five thousand men to face his enemies. Scottish blood must again have flowed freely in civil war, had not the English ambassador interfered. Morton pledged himself to make changes in the Government, changes favourable to the nobles, and to withdraw from the King's person, but he had no intention to keep any of his promises when the danger had passed.²

That unexpected truce made the Scots believe in a milder rule, and filled their hearts with joy; Elizabeth, more than any one else, must have rejoiced at the success of her enterprise. On learning, from the Abbot of Dunfermline, that English influence was at the lowest ebb in Scotland, she had concentrated her forces at Berwick³ and had at the same time given money to Morton and those about him, with the view of strengthening his party.⁴ She wished to quell the movement. Her activity, the craft of her ambassadors, and the good fortune which did not cease to favour her, gave her that pleasure. Spain, as usual, intended to do great things but did nothing;⁵ so that after much agitation, the Scottish government remained quite the same as before: the Prince, a slave though King, Morton, the Regent save in name, the Chancellor Athole, Lieutenant-General, without the power.⁶ The only real good brought about was that the nobles could more easily approach the person of their King.⁷

Don Juan's death, which happened in the course of the same year, allowed Elizabeth's Government to look forward to a long time of peace, and Mary Stuart was treated with less severity. The Earl of Shrewsbury became more and more indulgent to the Princess. He endeavoured to lighten as much as possible the hardships of her captivity; he proposed to her the various little recreations which he could allow her,

¹ Vargas Mexia to Philip II., 26th August, Teulet V., 159; Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 27th August, Teulet, III., 33; Moyse's Memoirs, 11-22.

² Vargas Mexia to Philip II., 19th Sept. Teulet, V., 163; Papers of Castelnau de Mauvissière, Teulet, III., 35, 39, 41.

³ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 15th September.—Prince Labanoff, V., 56.

⁴ Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 19th September.—Teulet, III., 35.

⁵ Various Papers of Simancas.—Teulet, V., 160, 165, 167.

⁶ Vargas Mexia to Philip II., 7th December. Teulet, V., 172.

⁷ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff V., 57.

and he worked warmly for her interests.¹ He could not help feeling deep-seated admiration for the woman who filled Europe with the story of her misfortunes and her patience.

Certain it is that Mary required an extraordinary amount of courage to bear her lot. The sixteenth century was no stranger to violence, hatred and desperate actions; the rage for destruction and murder was natural to it; but it offered no example of a patience so lasting and so constant, of a firmness so steady and unshaken, amid misfortunes. The woman must certainly have sunk under oppression; but the Christian, the daughter of the Guises, was invincible. She feared God only, and had before her eyes nothing but religion. All her actions tended to the triumph of Catholicism; in spite of her poverty, she yet found wherewithal to supply the wants of monasteries and needy seminaries.² "There is no particuler joye nor restitution nor advancement on earth that I desire saveinge onely the relief of the Catholique Church, and fortitude thereof, to the universall flourishinge and restablishment of her faith and religion, but specially in this pore isle. To which ende if it longe afore, dedicate and abandon my life in a thowsand mo tormentes, and shall please him to make me serve in anythinge, I doe even nowe, as I have all I can have in this world thereunto, wishing no greater felicitye and consolation than in that quarrell to leave the miseryes of this wretched vale."³ Another time she wrote: "My continual sufferings have taught me to disdain the world in order to seek the cure for my ills only in Jesus Christ, my Saviour. He has shown me the way by going to Calvary; I shall follow thither; may I follow Him also to Heaven."⁴

The young King of Scotland, ill versed in worldly matters, had neither the patience nor the discretion of his mother. One time he asked Elizabeth for the estates of the Earl of Lennox, as an inheritance, but, on being refused he got into a towering rage, and spoke strongly against England.⁵ According to a Spanish diplomatic note he uttered words so wanting in respect to Elizabeth, that the English ambassador retired without taking leave.⁶ No doubt, as a general rule, the words of a child ought not to be heeded; in this case they must be heeded for they show the leaning of the lords about him, and throw a light upon the situation.

¹ Mary Stuart to Castelnau de Mauvissière. —Prince Labanoff, IV., 394, v. 69.

² Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow. —Prince Labanoff, V., 11, 210.

³ Mary Stuart to Dr. Allen, 3d August, 1577. —Prince Labanoff, IV, 375.

⁴ Mary Stuart to Father Edmond, 21st November, 1578. —Prince Labanoff, V., 72.

⁵ Rapin Thoyras, VII., 368.

⁶ Vargas Mexia to Philip II., 31st Dec. 1578. —Teulet, V., 175.

The people as well as the nobility had that ill feeling for the English; high and low now opened their eyes to the danger, while their common dread of England helped to bind together the rich and poor. The English having been imprudent in interfering in a dispute between Scotsmen of the Border, were startled to see all Scotland pursue them and drive them out, after inflicting on them great losses. The Queen of England complained to the Council of Scotland. "Was it in England or in Scotland the war took place?" asked the Prince sharply. "In Scotland," was the reply. "Well all the fault lies with the invaders; they had no right to enter the country without my consent: if my subjects penetrated thus into England, I should gladly see them get the same treatment."¹

Do what he would, Morton saw power slipping from his grasp. The young King liked better to listen to the Earls of Athole and Argyll, and Morton, far from hoping to conquer in the end, could see, looming in the distance, a fall only greater than the first. The Parliament held in Stirling in the month of April confirmed his fears, for there it was unanimously resolved that the Prince should journey through Scotland, and have himself recognised as King.²

Morton, seeing so great unanimity, had to yield, and seemed pleased to be relieved of affairs, while he brooded over the thoughts of a fearful revenge. Some time after he invited the Councillors to a grand festival in token of rejoicing. Near the end of the repast the Earl of Athole became ill. At first no notice was taken of the matter; but the illness made such rapid strides that the Earl was, a moment after, at death's door. The guests remembered that seven years before the Earl of Mar had died poisoned at Morton's table, and the consternation was general. Morton affected pity, and, by the interest which he seemed to take in Athole, sought to re-assure the guests. The lords fixed their eyes upon the ex-Regent, but vainly tried to catch an expression of emotion or trouble on his countenance; his features were cold and hardened by hatred; the sick Earl was at once taken to Kincardine.

Astonishment and fear prevented the nobles from accusing Morton; they retired without showing their anger, lest they should expose them-

¹ "El principe que estava ya informado preguntò promptamente que donde havia sido? Y haviendole dicho que en su reyno, respondió que á él pesava, pero que ellos havian tenido la culpa, pues no era razon entrar en reyno ageno y con mano armada sin licencia del Príncipe; y que quando los suyos entrassen en el de

Englaterra, holgaria que se hiziesse con ellos otro tanto; con una promptitud y auctoridad que diz que dexó espantados à todos."—Vargas Mexia to Philip II., 25th April, 1579. Teulet, V., 192.

² Estat du Royaulme d'Escosse.—Teulet, V., 193.

selves to his rage ; but when they were out of his reach, they loudly accused him. Athole's death, which happened on the morrow, spread a gloomy sadness over Scotland, and called forth an outcry. The name of the poisoner was in every mouth, and any one on seeing Morton's calmness might have imagined that he had done nothing. Hardened by crime, his was a face proof against shame ; he heard with indifference the cries and lamentations of the Scots all over the country, rising even to Stirling, and when he was informed of the accusations which were made against him, his sole reply to them was contempt. The physicians who had been called in to decide as to the cause of death were of different opinions ; some declared the poisoning was evident, and that there was no doubt on the subject ; others denied the poisoning, without, however, assigning any reason for so extraordinary a death. Public opinion did not hesitate to speak out, and the people, in their everyday talk laid at his door, Athole's death and that of the Earl of Mar.¹

Cheerful gossip replaced in London the wails which resounded around Stirling ; people talked of Elizabeth's marriage with the Duke d'Anjou. De Bacherville and de Rambouillet had already been charged to negotiate the marriage, but success had not as yet responded to their hopes. The Duke d'Anjou chose as his new representative at the Court of England, de Simier, the craftiest and most artful courtier that he could possibly find. That man, a thorough master in all that concerned the artifices of the Court, soon made his way, and, ere long, got very far into the Queen's good graces. In his outward appearance, his manners, his conversation, and even the smallest of his actions, he was singularly graceful. The Queen got so fond of him that she could not spend a week without seeing him at least three or four times ; when he did not appear at Court she was sad and disappointed ; moreover, she always offered him the most

¹ The contemporary author, Marioreybanks, a citizen of Edinburgh, does not even hint at any grounds for doubting it. "In Appryle 1579," says he, "the said Earl of Athole was poyssonit in Striueling." *Annals of Scotland*, 29. Moyse in his memoirs says distinctly that the poisoning was proved. "Being embowelled upon the declaration of the doctors and the apothecaries present, that there was poison within the corps, the laird of Grandtully, sister's son to the said Earl, and certain others his special servants, came back in haste to the King's Majesty, and assured his highness he

was poisoned." And again : "The Lady Athole and certain of her umquhile husband's friends, with the doctors and surgeons who were present at the opening of the said Earl, having repaired to Stirling to give certificate whether he was poisoned or not ; after long reasoning it was declared by them to the King's Majesty and Council that his body was poisoned, which was his death."—Moyse's *Memoirs*, 32, 35. *Various State Papers*, Teulet III. 73, V., 194, 214. *Camden*, II., 294. *Prince Labanoff*, V., 92.

gracious welcome. That intimacy gave currency to certain statements which envy, hatred and jesting quickly spread. It was alleged that the virgin-Queen took certain "indecent liberties with the Duke d'Anjou's envoy, and that she revealed to him, in private, the secrets of the kingdom." Be that true or false, it is at least certain, that Simier returned the compliment by communicating important disclosures to her. Leicester gave him grounds for so doing by constantly teasing the cunning courtier. The latter was at first patient, as was becoming in a stranger; but soon unable to bear it any longer, he took his revenge by relating to Elizabeth how Leicester had poisoned the Earl of Essex, and repudiated his own wife to marry the widow of his victim. That revelation was a thunderbolt for Elizabeth, who thought herself the sole idol of the happy favourite. The little girl Ashley, her confidante, a witness to her complaints, stupidly took the Earl's part. "What!" exclaimed the Queen, "shall I forget myself so far as to prefer my creature to the first Princes of the Christian universe?" Leicester's excessive intimacy with Elizabeth had made him so vain, that on learning that reply, he uttered threats which brought on him imprisonment.¹ According to the habit which they had contracted of meddling with everything but their religion, the Church-people increased the scandal by their declamations, and it was found necessary to silence them.² That measure completely roused the public irritation, and hatred armed the hand of a murderer, at the risk of killing Elizabeth at the same time as the French courtier.³ Peace was entirely restored when the Duke d'Anjou arrived incognito at Greenwich. His unexpected coming pleased Elizabeth; his attentions and his good manners gained for him the heart of that Princess; but his stay in England was deemed too short in the Queen's opinion. Immediately after his departure she assembled the lords of her Council and laid before them the marriage question.

In taking that step Elizabeth was persuaded that the lords would be unanimous in advising her to do what the Parliament had formerly asked her as a favour. Against her expectation the contrary opinion prevailed.⁴ Her passion for the Duke became stronger by contradiction, and showed itself in sobs; she dismissed her counsellors,

¹ Murdin's Papers, 318, 559; Prince Lobanoff, VI., 52; Camden, II., 298.

² Lodge's Illustrations of British History, II., 212.

³ Camden, II., 298.

⁴ Sir Henry Ellis has inserted in his letters

a curious dissertation on the advantage which would accrue to Elizabeth by remaining a virgin (I. In respect of God; II. In respect of the Prince; III. In respect of the common weal) or by marrying. It is really a very peculiar but rather indelicate document.

remained alone, sighing to herself, and shed abundant tears that afternoon and the following day. It was evident to all that the virgin-Queen was no longer anxious to abide by her resolution to live in celibacy; her counsellors yielded through pity, and signed the preliminaries of the marriage.¹

In Scotland, also, tears were being shed, and with more reason. Morton, having no longer to dread the Earl of Athole, launched his fury against the Hamiltons, solely to humble that powerful family which he dreaded. After uselessly trying to gain them over to him by family alliances,² he had come to blows. Wicked instincts leagued together for that end; Morton wished to ruin them on account of their power; the courtiers, on account of their prodigious wealth which they hoped to divide; and the young King, because they were, after him, the legitimate heirs to the Crown. In a few days the ex-Regent seized the castles of Hamilton and of Draffen, put two of the members of the family to death, and detained as prisoners the Duchess of Chatelleraut with her unfortunate son, the Earl of Arran.³ That poor Earl, who had become mad, ought, one would think, to have called forth more compassion than hatred. Morton crowned his evil deeds by confining him in a narrow prison, under the pretext of rebellion, and that criminal action was approved of by the Parliament.⁴ It would have been all over with the most illustrious family in Scotland, had not Lord Arbroath and Claud Hamilton, his brother, fled amid innumerable dangers, the one to the Court of England, the other to that of France, where they were welcomed with distinction.⁵

Nau's arrival in Scotland caused Morton some anxiety, and checked those evil-doings. Mary, uneasy regarding the health and happiness of her son, had sent her secretary to enquire personally about the state of the Prince. His presence gave rise to a warm discussion in the King's Council, for he was the bearer of various presents, among others, of eight small pieces of artillery, gilt and silvered,⁶ and letters intended to be placed in the hands of the Prince. The address on those letters which gave James VI. only the title of Prince gave rise to controversy. There were long debates in the Council, and the young Prince's determination had obtained Nau's reception, when Morton, who had

¹ Murdin's Papers, 318-342.

² Corresp. diplom., VI., 481.

³ Prince Labanoff, V., 79.

⁴ Robertson's History of Scotland, II., 63.

⁵ Various State Papers, Teulet, III., 54, 62, 67, 69, 98; V., 195, 196, 202; Camden, II., 300, 301.

⁶ Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 26th July 1579.—Teulet, III., 52.

come up from Stirling in all haste, made the balance incline to the opposite side, and had Nau informed that he could not obtain admission, unless he gave James VI. the title of King.¹ On his protesting, it was proposed to him, by way of coming to terms, to divest himself of his title of ambassador, and to solicit an audience from the King as a private individual, together, however, with the promise of giving Mary only the title of mother and not that of Queen of Scots. Nau justly considered the proposal a farce, and persisted in abiding by the terms of his commission. The one who had made the proposal was the King's physician. On seeing Nau refuse what he, a doctor, considered as an exceptional favour, he could not contain himself, and growing pale with rage he ordered the Secretary of the Queen of Scots to leave the country, and strongly threatened him. "If you were one of the Counsellors of his Grace the Prince," replied the secretary, "I should leave at once, while reserving the right to ask you at a later period an explanation of your words; but you are nothing, and your reply would not be valid. I therefore take those who accompany you as witnesses of my resolution: I consider your injunctions as null, and if I must change my language, I prefer to retake the road to England. As far as a request of audience as a private individual is concerned, thank the lords of Council for their advice, and tell them that if, as a private individual, I am to respect the established government as ambassador of the Queen of Scots, I cannot submit to it without wronging the interests of her who has sent me." "So," added Nau in the letter in which he describes his journey, "after various messages on both sides, I set out on the following day after dinner, having seen, owing to the misconduct of those who were around my said Grace, his heart instead of his body."² One of the gentlemen who accompanied Nau was admitted to the King's presence, handed him the artillery, and withdrew at once, having been able to obtain, from the son for the mother, only the barren wishes of weakness. Morton had managed to thwart Mary's envoys to the end by condemning the Prince to silence while they stayed.³

The mother, in England, was not more happy than the son, in Scotland: she was watched even more closely than before; her communications with the outside became rare and difficult, and her letters reached their destination only after the greatest precaution. Walsingham was

¹ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 4th July 1579.—Prince Labanoff, V., 96.

² Nau to Castelnau de Mauvissière, 7th July.—Teulet, III., 48, 49.

³ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 4th July.—Prince Labanoff, V., 97.

busy trying to find out the intrigues which were of a nature to compromise Elizabeth's safety or honour. His investigations went so far, that the ambassador of France was obliged to burn several letters addressed to Mary, for fear of finding himself compromised.¹ That rigorous supervision happened very inopportunately for Mary. More than ever, she needed to write, so as to frustrate Elizabeth's designs on the Prince of Scotland. The Queen of England, despairing of ever having the Prince in her power, thought of marrying him according to her fancy. Projects multiplied; each day saw one given up in favour of another; but, in spite of the daily changes, Elizabeth remained very firm in her resolution to bring about the marriage. A young Princess of Denmark and the daughter of the Prince of Orange were the matches to which Elizabeth gave the preference.² The carelessness of the Catholic princes alarmed the captive. "If there in they find," wrote Mary, "greater difficulty then advantage for themselfis, I desire not to treat in it any farther, nor requyre them of any thing above there forces and good will; considering that this doing I set myself heir in danger of lyfe, and of the richt, which perteaneth me within this realme . . . remaning justly discharged before God and the world of my obligations to the Catholick Church, and to the Princes therof . . . I may presently, without forfending them, provyde for the most urgent necessity of my affaires, be some good agreement with this Queen."³ She kept her word: seeing herself forgotten, she wrote to Elizabeth to recommend the Prince to her, to complain of the "barbarism" with which he was treated by the "factious murderers of his father," and to ask her protection. That letter breathes motherly love in all its strength and sweetness. Mary deplores the "narrow confinement in which they detain her poor child," and requests Elizabeth's favour only "because she cannot provide for him herself."⁴

Elizabeth would perhaps have favourably welcomed the proposals of the Queen of Scots, if calumny, already so often a mischief-maker betwixt the two Queens, had not come to break off unexpectedly a friendship which was striving to grow. In all that concerned her habits and her alliances, Queen Elizabeth was extremely susceptible, and Mary's enemies profited by that disposition to set those two rival women

¹ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 4th July.—Prince Labanoff, V., 85.

² Vargas Mexia to Philip II., 23d Oct. 1579 and 21st Feb. 1580.—Teulet, V., 201, 211.

³ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow,

4th July.—Prince Labanoff, V., 91, 93. Vargas Mexia to Philip II., 29th September 1579.—Teulet, V., 199.

⁴ Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, 5th September.—Prince Labanoff, V., 102.

against each other. Words, very far from favourable to Elizabeth's marriage with the Duke d'Anjou, were attributed to Mary Stuart. The Queen of England, justly offended, got into a rage, enough to frighten even the innocent. Mary was soon informed by Castelnau of what was going on. Feeling herself hurt not less than Elizabeth, she protested, and earnestly asked for the names of the slanderers, that she might be able to give a bold denial to the audacious insinuation, and check by her attitude those who might still dream of accusing her falsely. "I tell you," she wrote to the French ambassador, "that whosoever, without any exception, has made such a report to the Queen of England, my good sister, has wickedly and infamously lied and has spoken against all truth and against his conscience, of which I accuse him before God . . . if he dare not appear before men."¹ Mary and Castelnau insisted upon having the names of the guilty: Elizabeth refused to give them.² Calumny, driven out in England, made for Scotland, and tried to make mischief between mother and child. Without accusing any one, it is probable that the English Cabinet had something to do with those rumours; and the nature of the calumny circulated in Scotland, leads one to believe that the ministers themselves had put it forth in the interest of their cause. It was said that Mary disinherited her son to the profit of the Duke d'Anjou; and although that assertion was at first sight void of likelihood, as well as of foundation, the effect which it was meant to produce on the Prince could be only disastrous.³

Very fortunately the time for intrigues was past: the avenger of Mary Stuart had at length reached the Court of James VI. His name was Esmé Stuart, but he was known as the Count d'Aubigny. Accredited to the Prince despite Mary and Elizabeth,⁴ that secret agent of the Guises was fated to free the King from the servitude under which he was groaning, and to crush Morton. He was held in great favour from the very first. Arbroath Abbey, taken from the Hamiltons, gave him a position, and the title of Earl of Lennox conferred upon him a rank, and placed him at the head of the nobility.⁵ He grew more powerful notwithstanding the efforts which the English, along with Morton and

¹ Mary Stuart to Castelnau de Mauvissière, 21st November 1579.—Prince Labanoff, V., 109.

² Castelnau de Mauvissière to Mary Stuart, 7th December.—Teulet, III., 59.

³ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow,

20th January 1580.—Prince Labanoff, V., 118.

⁴ Various letters, Prince Labanoff, IV., 388, V., 61, 124, 134; Teulet, V., 194.

⁵ Various papers, Teulet, III., 56, 75, V., 215; Prince Labanoff, V., 157.

the Hamiltons, made to overthrow him.¹ Gentle in manner, polite and frank, he had won for himself the good wishes of James VI. The skill which enabled him to foresee as well as shape the course of action of the King, made him absolute master, and he set about ruining Morton. The first attack was skilfully directed. Instead of blaming the ex-Regent, the young King, prompted by d'Aubigny, asked to have the reins of government in his own hands. That request astonished Morton. The King went further, and thereupon accused him of having poisoned the Earl of Athole, so that, at last, the Prince and the powerful lord came to an open rupture.² He had a warm dispute with him, and reproached him in Council with the wish to hand him over to England, or poison him. Morton did not change countenance; he asked the name of the accusers. "Here are your accusers," replied the Prince, showing Argyll and d'Aubigny. Called upon to justify himself, the former Regent protested against the accusation; and, as there were no direct proofs to meet his denial, his innocence was proclaimed by sound of trumpet.³

Reassured in reference to Athole, Morton in his turn came forward as an accuser, and denounced d'Aubigny as a Catholic. That cry of the ex-Regent roused the passions of even the lowest ranks of society. The people did not like Morton; the nobles hated him, and wished his ruin; but fanaticism was stronger than enmity. At the alarm-cry, all forgot their personal hatreds in religious zeal. The King was in desperation, because he was passionately fond of d'Aubigny. He would have defended him against all his personal enemies, but it seemed dangerous to defend him against the impetuous fury of the masses.⁴

That Catholic Lord, enraged at seeing himself the victim of a wretch such as Morton, made up his mind to go over to Protestantism, intending, however, to return, later, to his former religion.⁵ From that moment he communed with his own thoughts, and vowed an implacable hatred against the tyrant. Morton, suddenly abandoned by the people, who redoubled their affection for the King and the Earl of Lennox, implored the help of Elizabeth. Sir Robert Bowes uselessly interested himself in his favour, and although supported by the English troops massed on

¹ Mendoza to Philip II., 30th March 1580. —Teulet, V., 214; Prince Labanoff, V., 132, 140, 157.

² Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 2d March.—Teulet, III., 69. Mendoza to Philip II.—Idem, V., 215.

³ Vargas Mexia to Philip II., 31st May 1580. —Teulet, V., 220.

⁴ Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 22d April.—Teulet, III., 71.

⁵ Moyse's Memoirs, 42.

the frontiers, he obtained absolutely nothing.¹ The strife grew more and more bitter, and reached its utmost height when the Earl of Lennox heard himself accused of wishing to carry off the Prince.² Scotland, England and France began to feel that the upshot, whatever it might be, would ruin one of the two parties, and that, under those two men, there were struggling two currents of contrary ideas—royalty or tutelage, the authoritative or oligarchical principle.

The two champions being determined to fight until, according to Castelnau's expression,³ "the one or the other should be ruined," took the necessary measures, each on his own side. Morton built his hopes on England; d'Aubigny, with nothing to rely on, save the encouragements of a boyish King, asked for Dunbarton Castle, and had it given to him.⁴ Guarded by the precipitous rocks of the old stronghold, he was now able to brave the wrath of Morton, and, backed by James Stuart, second son of the Laird of Ochiltree, alone, he felt strong enough to attack the ex-Regent.

James Stuart, the new-comer, as much a soldier as d'Aubigny, was also a courtier, and had fought for fighting's sake in the wars of Flanders, where, by his bravery, he had risen to the rank of colonel. The Archbishop of Glasgow had lured him from the army by hinting what a brilliant part he might play in the island. On his arrival he found Scotland boiling with secret enmities, but in the dark as to what she wished or had a chance of getting. With many faults, the Colonel had fine qualities; his active spirit showed itself far-sighted in guessing the feelings of the multitude, and stubbornly anxious to gratify those feelings when found out. He soon saw how thoroughly Morton was hated by all; he joined d'Aubigny, and thought of nothing, save to crush the ex-Regent.

Mary took an opposite course, and gave up the struggle just when resistance might have been a gain to her. She had entered into correspondence with Elizabeth, reminding her of the promises which she had received, and the uselessness of a longer confinement. "Believe me," wrote she, "you can make me more attached to you by setting me free from prison, thereby increasing the obligation which my heart should owe to you for such a kindness; but you cannot gain my love by keeping my body within four walls, for those of my rank and nature

¹ Vargas Mexia to Philip II.—Teulet, V., 220.

² Prince Labanoff, V., 144.

³ Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 25th September.—Teulet, III., 75.

⁴ Mendoça to Philip II.—Teulet, V., 215.

are not wont to bend before strength, as you may have seen in the past."¹

That letter did no good: Elizabeth, believing she had a right to suspect Mary in reference to d'Aubigny, refused all concession. The change in the prisoner's manner of acting, coinciding with the struggle which divided Scotland, and disturbed England, led to the belief that a secret bond existed between those various centres of sedition. England seemed threatened with wars civil and foreign, and Walsingham accordingly took no rest; the laws were rigorously carried out. Leicester, since his disgrace, making common cause with the Puritans, imparted a new audacity to that party, naturally inclined to rashness in doctrine and action. The dark furies of the sect henceforth broke out, not on religious questions only; they burst forth on a subject likely to raise fiercer wrath and greater danger. The alliance with the Duke d'Anjou had roused the jealousy of Leicester, and was to him a pretext to join the Puritans. In taking such a resolution, the former favourite thought he might throw an obstacle in the way of Elizabeth's marriage with the Duke, yet go no further. In his blind passion he thought no one would think otherwise than he had thought; in that, he stupidly misjudged the spirit of the Puritans. They took advantage of Leicester's influence to oppose France, and afterwards would not let him curb their zeal. They set their face with all energy against the French alliance, and then borrowed from old Knox his arguments and thunderbolts to curse the government of women.² Nay more, they offered the throne of England to the young King of Scotland.³ Leicester, driven by those whom he had wished to lead, found himself exposed to the anger of the English and French Governments, without being able either to raise himself or assist the Hamiltons, who also had leagued themselves with the Puritans to recover their position in Scotland.⁴

The English Cabinet, kept awake by so many intrigues, redoubled its vigilance towards the poor captive, fearing that under her name, or for her help, conspiracies should be formed on the continent against Elizabeth, or Morton, her faithful ally. Mary sometimes made use of the Earl of Shrewsbury's servants to send off her letters, and Elizabeth's ministers learned it from their spies. So, on the 4th of May, they arrested

¹ Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, 2d May.—Prince Labanoff, V., 147.

² Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 8th February and 2d March.—Teulet, III., 64, 70.

³ Vargas Mexia to Philip II., 29th November.—Archives de l'Empire; Fonds de Simancas, liasse B., 49, No. 149.

⁴ Various Letters of Mary Stuart.—Prince Labanoff, V., 39, 117, 156, 189.

Jailleur, one of the Earl's servants, just as he landed from France. That arrest might have had important results, yet Jailleur, in spite of what had befallen him, managed to hand the Sheffield captive two letters from the Archbishop of Glasgow, which had not been found upon him.¹

Elizabeth might well feel proud, for she was now at liberty to concentrate her troops against Scotland. Ireland had just fallen. That fine country did not allow itself to be conquered without a struggle. It kept up for a long time an unequal contest, armed itself with patriotism to repulse the invaders, and deservedly attracted the eyes of Europe, until at length, dragged down by the force of circumstances, it was subdued. Its fall was too painfully re-echoed, not to tell its story.

War had been raging in that country for eighteen years without any real truce. When the parties stopped fighting for a little, they gave way, rather from fatigue than any peaceful feeling. During those momentary suspensions the old hatreds accumulated and soured, and fresh massacres came at intervals after former massacres. A thrilling desire for war overran the island, and in a single night a land which, on the eve, was thought peaceful and asleep, was armed for its defence.

One of the legitimate children of the Earl of Tyrone, despoiled of his heritage by the despot Henry VIII. to the profit of his bastard brother Matthew, was the first to stir up revolt in the heart of Ireland. His name was Shane O'Neill. He had claimed as his right to be the King of Ulster. Not getting anything, he raised the war-cry. A great number of Irishmen, attracted by misfortune or by patriotism, rallied round his banner. The crafty Earl of Sussex had, however, sufficient influence over the Irish warrior to induce him to come to London, and do homage to Elizabeth. He appeared at court in the costume of his country, followed by a numerous guard, all clad in yellow. Elizabeth took a certain delight in seeing those fierce men, who, though they were her nearest neighbours, did not excite less curiosity, according to Camden's expression, than if they had been Indians or Chinese.² She offered their chief a gracious welcome, which the wild O'Neill did his best to acknowledge, but when the Queen came to ask him an account of his conduct towards the bastard Matthew, he answered haughtily, "What I have done has been well done; it was my right; I am the son of Conn O'Neill; Matthew is the sad offspring

¹ Prince Labanoff, V., 151.

² Camden, I., 69.

of a farrier." Elizabeth, despairing of conquering so bold a nature, dismissed the man with kind words.

For a year after his return to his native land, Shane O'Neill was friendly to the English, and did them some signal services, then, to avenge real or imaginary wrongs, he rushed anew into revolt. His turbulent nature, joined to great boldness, soon organised rebellion. During several years, battles followed treaties, and treaties battles, without securing peace for Ireland. Elizabeth was grieved to see all the resources of her states swallowed up in that war-loving island; her army was permanently settled there, and the costs of the war exceeded six millions tournois. She could not keep up the struggle without losing ground in Scotland and on the Continent, where all was in a blaze. In that emergency, she caused to be offered to Shane the English titles which his father had borne, provided he swore obedience to her authority. "If your mistress is Elizabeth, Queen of England," replied he to the envoys, "I am O'Neill, King of Ulster; I have never made peace with her but at her own request; my blood places me above mere titles, for which I feel only contempt. My forefathers have reigned in Ulster: they acquired this kingdom with their sword; my sword shall preserve it."

Those words were the signal for a new struggle. The English, angry at Shane's reply, asked for reinforcements, and prepared for a campaign of extermination. Shane O'Neill, beaten in a furious engagement, near Dundalk, took his revenge by ravaging the country. The English were almost always successful in the pitched battles; Shane in the surprises. His badly disciplined troops went carelessly into action, rushing on the enemy without keeping their ranks, and without listening to any other command than that of their courage. The English troops, advancing in good order, had easily the best of their adversaries; yet both sides suffered enormous losses. Shane at last sought the woods and impracticable places, so as to harass the enemy; but his ranks, thinned by the sword, were weakened still more by desertion. No longer able to trust to the fate of great battles, he withdrew among the Ulster Scots, so as to rest and wait for an opportunity. While at a feast, he was killed, at the instigation of Piers, an English officer. His head, fixed on a spear, was exposed in Dublin; the pieces of his body, which had been quartered, were attached to the gates of the principal towns in the hands of the English, as the trophies of an exemplary vengeance; his name and his title were blotted out by Act of Parliament, under penalty of treason; his lands were confiscated;

and upon his death, England hoped soon to be the peaceful mistress of Ireland.¹

Shane O'Neill's death had not the effect which England had anticipated. The Irish continued to be restless ; on all sides rose youthful captains, jealous of gaining immortality by ruining the English dominion in the island. Want of union made their goodwill useless ; they were defeated or bribed, one after another.

On the proposal of the Secretary, Sir Thomas Smith, the English Cabinet thought of founding colonies in Ireland, in the districts confiscated on account of treason. That innovation, introduced under pleasing colours, led a number of adventurers to emigrate. They almost all perished, and the Earl of Essex, whom Elizabeth had sent to command them, died suddenly in Dublin. Leicester was accused of having had him poisoned, so that he might marry his widow.

Colonizing failed, as war had failed, in presence of the tenacity of the Irish. The quarrel, still furious, showed no signs of waning ; the English were not able to become absolute masters, and the natives were not subdued. The Irish, unable to destroy the invaders, appealed to the sovereigns of Europe. The Pope heard the cries of his children oppressed by despotism ; Spain followed suit ; and aid reached Ireland in spite of treachery.²

War broke out again with violence, and in every direction people were in arms. Fitz-Eustace and Pheogh MacHugh united with the Earl of Desmond ; the O'Byrnes, the O'Connors, the O'Carrols, the MacGeoghans, and the Kavanaghs, rose at the same time ; the English were defeated, then victorious ; but they covered themselves with eternal shame by massacring the soldiers who had surrendered on parole. (1580.)

The Earl of Desmond, standing alone amid the wreck of Irish nationality, sought in the woods and marshes a shelter, which his estates could no longer afford him. Incessantly pursued by the English hired assassins, he withdrew into uninhabited places, and lived there in comparative safety. At length some marauders, who had lost their way during the night, were attracted to his hut by the glimmer of a lamp. They found an old man, with long hair, seated on the ground before a small fire. Thinking they recognised him, they seized him, and made

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera et Acta*, VI., iv., 136. For the relations of Mary Stuart with Shane O'Neill, see *Letters to the Argyll Family*, a publication of the Maitland Club, 5 ; the letter of Paul de Foix to Catherine de Médicis, 29th

September 1565.—Teulet, II., 235 ; and various letters of Lethington and Randolph.—Bishop Keith, app., 168.

² Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 20th October 1580.—Teulet, III., 78.

use of threats and insinuations to find out who he was. The old man kept obstinately silent. The cut-throats were furious at getting no information, and one slashed the arm of the old man with his sword. Pain loosened his tongue, but he had scarcely time to say, "I am the Earl of Desmond," before he was slain. His head, sent to Elizabeth, was stuck up on London Bridge.¹

Elizabeth, victorious over Ireland, thought to revenge herself on the Pope, by persecuting the Catholics in her kingdom. The presence of Doctor Sanders, as nuncio in the Irish army, kindled her wrath : persecution was decreed. That treatment, welcomed by the Puritans with joy, cast a mournful gloom over England. The tears of the Catholics moistened the English soil, and their sobs rose even to heaven. The prisons received their victims ; the Tower of London was soon too small for so many captives. Several, instead of groaning in dungeons, preferred to emigrate, and seek, no matter where, a land where more pity lingered. By a just retribution, while the faithful fled, priests left the English seminaries on the Continent, and returned to England, to preach and die there. They did indeed find death there, but a horrible death—the gibbet or the wheel.²

There was a Catholic whom Elizabeth could neither hang nor put to the wheel, and he alone did more harm to England than all of that religion put together. He was d'Aubigny. He had resolved on Morton's fall, without heeding either the difficulties or the consequences of such an overthrow. The hour for action had come ; Scotland was enthusiastic at the triumphant entry of the King into Edinburgh³—the moment could not be more favourable.

Except a certain coldness, and some slander, nothing led Morton to foresee that his fall was so nigh. On the 31st of December, he went as usual to the Council ; there the King's favourites awaited him. The last day of the year 1580 was to be for him the last day of his power and of his liberty. In the middle of the session, James Stuart, driven as it were by duty, threw himself at the King's feet, accused Morton of having been "*art and part*" in Darnley's murder, and offered to prove his accusation under the usual penalties. Morton was not,

¹ Camdeni Historia ab anno 1562 ad 1583 ; Thomas Lelland, History of Ireland, II., passim ; Murdin's Papers, 353-366.

² Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 27th September 1580.—Prince Labanoff, V., 179 ; Camden, II., 314 ; Sanderus, Histoire

du Shisme d'Angleterre, traduction de Maucroix, 396 sq. ; Strype's Annals, I., 223, 337—II., passim et app., 102 ; Bishop Challoner, Memoirs of Missionary Priests, almost the whole of Vol. I.

³ Robertson's History of Scotland, II., 72.

however, put out by so unexpected an attack ; he merely cast a look of contempt on James Stuart, then, addressing the King with firmness, said, " I know not by whom this informer has been set on, and it were easy for one of my rank to refuse all reply to so mean a person ; but I stand upon my innocence, I fear no trial. The rigour with which I have prosecuted all suspected of that murder is well known, and when I have cleared myself, it will be for your Majesty to determine what they deserve who have sent this perjured tool of theirs to accuse me."

Those words uttered quietly, and with a freezing contempt, happening to be used towards a man so violent as was James Stuart, awoke in his heart an unspeakable anger. He replied with as much contempt, and more bitterness, "It is false, utterly false, that any one has instigated me to make the accusation. A horror for the crime, and zeal for the safety of my Sovereign have been my only counsellors ; as to his pretended zeal against the guilty, let me ask him where has he placed Archibald Douglas, his cousin ? That most infamous of men, who was an actor in the tragedy, is now a Senator, promoted to the highest seat of justice, and suffered to pollute that tribunal before which he ought to have been arraigned as the murderer of his Prince."¹

It is hard to say what might have happened had not the King interposed ; for Morton's hand was on his sword, and James was ready to defend himself. The accuser and the accused withdrew grumbling. The ex-Regent, put under arrest in his own house, was afterwards locked up in Edinburgh Castle under the guard of Alexander Erskine, whence he was taken to Dunbarton.

Elizabeth saw that second fall with displeasure, and sent Sir Robert Bowes to Scotland to plead the cause of the captive. Her envoy could not obtain a hearing, so that in wishing to plead for Morton, the English Cabinet did itself harm. The exceptional position in which Morton's arrest placed England and Scotland required unwonted activity and skill. Randolph was sent to Scotland. He lavished gold and words, made an appeal to the ex-Regent's friends and urged them to rise and act, showing them, beyond the borders, the English troops under the orders of Hunsdon and Huntingdon, ready to aid them ; but it was of no use : Morton had no friends left, and those English troops, instead of bringing the Scots to listen to Randolph, drove them to the party of James VI. Randolph, to save his life, had to make for England by night, while the envoys of the Prince of Orange, and of the King of

¹ Tytler's History, IV., 31 ; Robertson II., 75 ; Craufurd's Memoirs, 325, 326.

Navarre had no better success ; James VI. refused every concession. It is related that he said even this : " If the English are very anxious to have the said Earl of Morton, I shall send them the body but must keep his head." ¹

Although every one was glad to be rid of Morton, it was not, however, without a certain amount of terror that one looked to the future. A despotic government was overthrown ; those who had brought about that result had done a good deed, but what was to be the new form of government ? None could guess. The Presbyterians began to dread, and it was of the last importance for the King to pacify Scotland by reassuring the public mind alarmed by Randolph's false insinuations. Having that object in view, he issued a Protestant profession of faith,² ordering all his subjects to submit to it without delay. That confession rallied round him the Scots, who, through conscientious scruples inclined towards England. The King took advantage of that to begin immediate proceedings against Morton, in spite of Elizabeth's threats.³ Those who still thought of defending the prisoner, were subdued or driven away ; Angus was banished ; the Earl of Mar was obliged to resign the command of Stirling, and the others were scattered and declared rebels.

As the trial approached, Morton was brought from Dunbarton to Edinburgh ; on his arrival in the capital, he was placed in the hands of his enemy, James Stuart, newly created Earl of Arran. The name of the keeper enabled the prisoner to guess the fate which awaited him ; he entered his prison quite convinced that he should leave only for the scaffold.

He was taken out on the 1st of June, after five months' imprisonment, to appear before his judges. He repaired thither in sad apparel, between two companies of soldiers, and found the door of the Tolbooth guarded by two other bands of soldiers. On his way he saw nothing but soldiers and armed citizens. There was a vast difference between that threatening escort of soldiers and citizens, and the one which he had had, in the same town, during the regency ; and in comparing his present position with his past prosperity, remorse must have entered his soul. When he reached the Court, he in vain looked round for friends ; of

¹ Various State Papers, Teulet, III., 88, 97. Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff, V., 188, 189 ; Spottiswoode II., 274, 275.

² The text of it is published in Teulet III. 83 sq.

³ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and to Elizabeth.—Prince Labanoff, V., 205, 329.

those who had been such, some were not to be seen, while others tried to atone, by the violence of their invectives, for their baseness in previously seeking his good graces.

The proofs adduced against him were composed of written acts and of words. Burdened at once with the reproaches which the Queen of Scots had addressed to him, with his engagement with Bothwell, signed by his own hand, and presented by Sir James Balfour, with the will of the captive of Malmoë, and with his own conduct towards Archibald Douglas, he defended himself badly, denied a portion of the facts, and challenged his judges, without being able to prove his entire innocence: his words only justified the Queen of Scots.¹ Found guilty, he was sentenced to the punishment of a traitor. The King was pleased, by a last favour, to spare him the ignominy of such a death, and commuted the penalty into a sort of beheading which Morton himself had invented.² The execution was fixed for the morrow.

During that night, from the 1st to the 2d of June, which might be called the armed vigil, Morton slept quietly, and the following morning found him at table in company with some Scottish ministers. The conversation was quite Socratic; the condemned one spoke largely of religion and of morality, and finished by absolving himself, promising himself heaven on leaving this earth. Is that pretension, on the part of a man unprincipled and stained with blood, who states himself to be pure in the eyes of Him who fathoms at His will the innermost recesses of the heart, to be called firmness or sacrilegious insolence? The historian has no right to pass judgment on that point: it is the secret of the other world. Yet, on seeing a man with such a reputation assume the title of just on the very scene of his crimes, and speak freely of his evil deeds, without thinking either of repentance or of atonement, one must admit with the Protestant Tytler that it is "difficult not to be painfully struck."³ At mid-day the ministers were still around him.

When the keeper came to Morton and told him that his last hour had come, the ex-Regent seemed astonished that the time had passed away so rapidly, and asked for a few minutes to prepare himself.

¹ "Cum Mortonius extremum supplicium subiturus esset, fassus est Bothwellium secum egisse ut in regicidium consentiret: quod cum omnino abnueret nisi Regina sub chirographo mandaret; Bothwellium respondisse: hoc neutiquam fieri posse, at facinus ipsâ inconsultâ perpetrandum esse."—Camden, I. 118.

² Various State Papers.—Teulet, III., pas-

sim. from 79 to 104, V., 221, 228; Camden 333 sq.

³ Tytler's History, IV., 36. Morton's Confession, Laing III., 354 sq., and Bannat. Memor., 317 sq. That confession has been altered as M. Jules Gauthier notices and proves in his *Histoire de Marie Stuart*, III. 137.

"But, my Lord," said the keeper, "they will not wait, and all things are ready." "If it be so," replied Morton, "I praise God I am ready also." After a short prayer he followed the keeper. He mounted the scaffold courageously: "Sure I am," said he to those who stood around him, "the King shall lose a good servant this day." He afterwards spoke with a certain bluster which the people took for heroism: all went well as long as his eye did not rest on the knife which was to cut off his head; but when face to face with it, he grew pale and gave way to a base despair. He did not wish to die. The ministers could not keep him up; he had no faith. In the excess of his agony he fell down on his face, sobbed aloud and became convulsed. That pitiable condition which might have moved the most hardened was looked upon with joy by the Presbyterian ministers, for they saw in it the outward sign of the inward working of the Spirit of God in the heart of Morton.¹ The ex-Regent rose more calm, spoke to his friends, shook them by the hand, bade them a last farewell, and laid his neck on the knife of the maiden.²

The head of the redoubtable Douglas was immediately taken to the Tolbooth, and fixed above the door. The avaricious Regent, the richest lord in Scotland, was quietly buried the evening after his execution, and his body laid, unmarked, among those of the vilest criminals.³

His adulteries⁴ and murders have earned for him a reputation fit to dishonour a convict-prison, and history demands for him a severe judgment. Heartless, without honour or religion, having disowned the rights of blood, killed his King, ruined his Queen, and made her people groan under an iron yoke, he left, at his death, no other fame than that of an ambitious, violent and rapacious wretch capable of daring all to enrich himself and remain in power. Elizabeth regretted his death: "This young Prince," said she to Castelnau, in speaking of James VI., "begins too early to dip his hands in the blood of his subjects."⁵

¹ "During the tyme of the quhilk prayer, the Erle of Mortoun lay on gruife, upoun his face, befor the place of executioun, his body making grit rebounding with sychis and sobis, quhilk ar evident signes of the inward and michtie working of the Spirit of God."—Bannat. Memor. 331. The continuator of Hollinshed, II., 426.

² That instrument, of which several historians have formed a somewhat false idea, is still to be seen in the Antiquarian Museum, Edin-

burgh. It is somewhat similar to the guillotine, with this noteworthy difference, that the knife is a fixture, and that a heavy body adjusted between the two standing posts of the machine, performs the operation by falling on the neck of the culprit.

³ Spottiswoode, II., 276-279.

⁴ Craufurd's Memoirs, 219.

⁵ Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 20th June, 1581.—Teulet, III., 116.

P R O O F S.

NOTES AND EXPLANATIONS.

I.

FAULTS FOUND WITH THE FRENCH, AND BITTER WORDS UTTERED AGAINST THEM.

"When Monsr. Dessie and the Rhingrave had put of their harnes and shifted them, they both passing the stretes went to the Governor's lodging to have spoken with him, who wold not be spoken with all that night nor this day untill IX. aclock in the morning, so as they departed for that present, and havinge audience with the Governer this daye unto whom, not showing anny frendely countenance, he answered they were come rather to spoile and distroye the realme then to assist and defend yt, as was promysed ; and seing no better successe of their service, with also considering the slaughter lately made by the Frenche uppone the liege people and specially the Hammyltons, he told them playnly and openly in the hearing of manny that without more ado the matier should be enquired uppon and thoffenders shall suffre therfore without remysion, and so departed from theym and they returned to their lodgings very sadly. . . . The French are at this present in suche desperacion as they had rather adven-ter and be killed with Englishmen then by the Scottes."—*Extract from a Letter from Thomas Fisher to Somerset, 11th October 1548.*

"Et fot, à ce propos, que je vous die que, sy le Roy ne donne queque ordre à sa quevalerie qu'yl a pardesà, notre peïs ne saroit seuporté les mos quy font. Car y vous fot antandre que notre peïsant n'a rien a luy et ne demeure seu lè tère que sin ou six ans, et ce pendant les povre jans gagne se quy peulve pour vivre. Sy sont ôtes, y fot quy balle lè fermes à leur mètres de four-mant et d'orge ; de quoy y ne leur reste que l'avoine de quoy vive. On lè met dehors de leur méson ; ung n'a jamès poié ung liart de noriteure de chevas. Y breule le boys quy se trouve dedans la méson, comme bans, table et telle chose. Se pource endroit de peïs a souteneu la guerre euit ans et èt tous lè jours breulé des anemis. Je vous proumès que s'à chose ynseupor-table ; y se mète au dessépoir et s'an teue queque fois. Monsieur de Thermes an è bien marry (fâché), ausy sont les quapitènes de chevos-légieres, mès y n'y peule donner ordre."—*The Queen-Dowager of Scotland to the Duke d'Aumale, 12th November 1548. Teulet's collection.*

"Pour l'oprèson qu'y s'è fête au peuple par lè jans de guerre, y s'et mis an tel desespoir quy se prègne et lève contre nous, et, où y me souloient (avaient accoûtumé) aimer, y me vodrée voir morte, leur sanblan que je suis còse de leur mal."—*The same to the Cardinal de Guise, 29th November 1548, ibidem.*

"Le Gouverneur, ne voyant que parolles et délais et nul effet, commença à murmurer et dire que les François ne faisoient aultre chose que gaster et destruire le païs."—*Report of St Mauris, Teulet.*

II.

DEATH OF CHASTELARD.

Mr Hosack, in his beautiful defence of Mary Stuart, writes :—

“ It is impossible to acquit the Queen of all blame in this unfortunate affair. Chatelar was condemned to death for his audacious conduct, and she allowed him to perish on the scaffold. It may be said, and it is no doubt true, that if she had interfered to save his life, the worst construction would have been put upon her motives ; but it would have been better to incur such imputations than to allow a punishment to be inflicted so disproportioned to the offence.”—

95.

The remark does Mr Hosack honour, and I am truly grieved to have to differ from one of the modern authors whom I most esteem ; but it is important to look into the question without allowing one's self to be affected by the sad end of the poor youth. In my opinion Chastelard's two attempts ought to be considered, not merely as inconsiderate steps, but as really intended against the royal majesty. Sentiment has nothing to do with the matter. Any wretch, who, with the view of defaming a queen, should make any attempt on her virtue, is guilty of leze-majesty, and is condemned as such ; the same punishment was due to Chastelard. No doubt it is painful to see any one condemned to death for having loved too much ; no doubt, Chastelard meant no harm, and did not intend to defame the Queen, but he wittingly and premeditatedly gave grounds for suspicion of Mary's virtue. The law, in such a case, was bound to consider the crime, and the intention.

It may perhaps be pleaded that there were extenuating circumstances in the case, seeing that Mary had emboldened the gentleman, by accepting his verses, and thanking him for them.

“ Marie, says *M. Jules Gauthier* in his *Life of Queen Mary*, faisait réponse comme Marguerite de Valois répondait à Marot. Ce commerce poétique était de mode alors : ‘ Parler d’amour même aux dames du plus haut rang de si bas qu’on le fit, c’était le droit de tout poète et un reste des mœurs chevalresques.’ ”—(*Nisard*.) *J. Gauthier, Histoire de Marie Stuart*, I., 160.

Chastelard could not at that time have had much faith in the Queen's replies, since poetic missives of the same kind were common at the Court of the Valois.

“ Cependant, says *Brantôme*, lui, s’embrase couuertement d’un feu par trop haut sans que l’objet en peue mais, car qui peut défendre d’aimer ? Brule qui voudra sur des feux couverts.”—*Brantôme, discours sur Marie Stuart*.

The crime being brought home, could Mary pardon ? No. Firstly, because she had already been openly insulted by a certain Captain

Heiborne, who offered her some indecent lines on an obscene picture, (*Chalmers*, I., 99), and it would not have done for her to treat those insults as jokes. Secondly, because the ministers who “commented at pleasure” on the adventure, would not have failed to cry out still louder (*Sanderson*, 30); and what proves that clemency would have been a mistake, is that Knox, in spite of Chastelard’s death, left in writing that Mary was passionately fond of him.

“Amongst the minions of the Court, said he, there was one named Monsieur Chatelet, a Frenchman, that at that time passed all others in credit with the Queen. In dancing of the purpose—so term they that dance, in the which man and woman talketh secretly; wise men would judge such fashions more like the bordell (brothel), than to the comeliness of honest women. In this dance, the Queen chose Chatelet, and Chatelet took the Queen, for he had the best dress. All this winter Chatelet was so familiar in the Queen’s cabinet, early and late, that scarcely could any of the nobility have access unto her. The Queen would lie upon Chatelet’s shoulder, and sometimes privily would steal a kiss of his neck; and all this was honest enough, for it was the gentle entreatment of a stranger.”—*History of the Reformation, Book IV.*

If Knox has given so much prominence to the story, after Chastelard’s death, what would he not have said had Mary saved his life?

Accordingly it follows:—Firstly, that Chastelard deserved death; secondly, that Mary had neither the right nor the power to pardon him. As for those familiarities “like the bordell,” I shall not stop to refute them. The praises lavished on Mary, at that period, by Melville and Randolph, who were familiar with her, and at heart her enemies, utterly destroy those foul charges, which, hatched in the licentious imagination of an impure old man, smack of their origin. With him I leave the shame and the responsibility.

III.

ACCOUNT GIVEN BY THE QUEEN OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH PRECEDED AND FOLLOWED THE ABDUCTION AT FOULBRIGGS.

“His (Bothwell’s) Deportmentis in this Behalf may serve for ane Exempill, how cunninglie Men can cover yair Designeis, quhen thai haif ony greit Interpryis in heid quhill (until) yai haif brocht yair Purpois to pas. We thocht his Continewance in the awayting upoun ws, and Reddines to fulfill all oure Commandmentis, had procedit onelie upoun the acknowlegeing of his Dewtie, being oure borne Subject, without further hid Respect; quhilk movit ws to mak him the bettir visage, thinking nathing less yan that the same being bot ane ordinarie Countenance to sic Nobillmen as we fand affectionate to our Service, sould encourage him, or give him Bauldnes to luke for ony extraordinar Favour at oure Handis: Bot he, as weill hes apperit sensyne, making his Proffeit of everie Thing mycht serve his Turne, nocht discovering to oure Self his Intent, or yat he had ony sic Purpois in heid, wes content to intertene oure Favour be his gude outwart Behaviour, and all Meanis possibill. And in the mene tyme went about be practising

with ye nobillmen secretlie to make yame his Friendis, and to procure yair Consent to the Furtherance of his Intentis : and swa far procedit be Meanis with yame, befoir yat evir the same come to oure Knowlege, that oure haill Estaittis being heir assemblit in Parliament, he obtenit ane writting subscrivit with all yair Handis, quhairin thai nocht onlie grantit thair Consentis to oure Mariage with him, bot alsua obleist thameselfis to set him forwart thairto with thair Lyvis and Gudis, and to be Inymeis to all wald disturb or impede the samyn ; quhilk Lettre he purchest, geving thame to undirstand that we wer content thairwith."

"And the samyn being anis obtenit, he began afar of to discovir his Intentioun to ws, and to assay gif he mycht be humill sute purches oure gude Will : Bot finding oure Answer nathing correspondent to his Desyre, and casting befoir his Eyis all Doubtis that custumabillie Men usis to revolve with thameselfis in semblabill Interprysis, the Outwardnes (untowardness) of oure awin Mynd, the Persuasionis quhilk oure Friendis or his Unfriendis mycht cast out for his Hinderance, the Change of thair Myndis quhais consent he had alreddie obtenit, with mony uther Incidentis quhilk mycht occur to frustrat him of his Expectatioun, he resolved with himself to follow furth his gude Fortoun, and all Respectis laid apart, ayther to tyne all in ane Hour, or to bring to pas that Thing he had takin in hand ; and swa resoluit quiklie to prosecute his Deliberatioun, he sufferit nocht the Mater lang to sleip, bot within four Dayis thaireftir, findeing opportunitie, he ressoun we wer past secretlie towartis *Striveling* to visite the Prince our derrest Sone, in oure returning he awayted ws be the Way, accompaneit with a greit Force, and led ws with all Dilligence to *Dunbar*."

"In quhat Part we tuke that Maner of Dealing, bot speciallie how strange we fand it of him, of quhome we doubtit less than of ony Subject we had, is easie to be imagined."

"Being thair, we reprochit him, the Honour he had to be sa estemit of ws, the Favour we had always schawin him, his Ingratitude, with all uther Remonstrances quhilk mycht serve to red ws out of his Handis. Albeit we fand his Doingis rude, zit wer his Answer and Wordis bot gentill, That he wald honour and serve ws, and nawayis offend ws ; askit Pardoun of the Bauldnes he had tane to convoy ws to ane of our awin Housis, quhairunto he wes drevin be Force, alsweill as constranit be Lufe, the Vehemencie quhairof had maid him to set apart the Reverence quhilk naturalie as oure Subject he bure to ws, as alsua for Saiftie of his awin Lyff. And thair began to mak ws a Discours of his haill Lyff, how unfortunate he had bene to find men his Unfriendis quhome he had nevir offendit ; how thair Malice nevir ceasit to assault him at all Occasiounis, albeit, onjustlie ; quhat Calumpnyis had thai spred upoun him twiching the odious Violence perpetrated in the Persoun of the King oure lait Husband ; how unabill he was to safe himself from Conspiraceis of his Innemies, quhome he mycht not know, be ressoun everie Man professed himself outwartlie to be his Friend ; and zit he had sic Malice, that he could not find himself in Suirtie, without he wer assurit of oure Favour to indure without Alteratioun ; and uther Assurance thairof could he not lippin in, without it wald pleis ws to do him that Honour to tak him to Husband ; protesting always that he wald seik na uther Soveraintie bot as of befoir, to serve and obey ws all the Dayis of oure Lyff, joyning thairunto all the honest Language that could be usit in sic a cais."

"And quhen he saw ws lyke to reject all his Sute and Offeris, in the End he schowed ws how far he was procedit with oure haill Nobilitie and Principallis of oure Estaittis, and quhat thai had promiseit him undir thair Handwrittis. Gif we had caus yan to be astoneist, we remit ws to the Jugement of the King, the Quene, oure Uncle, and utheris oure Friendis. Seing oure self in his Puissance, sequestrat frome the Company of all oure Servandis and utheris quhome of we mycht ask Counsale ; zea, seing thame upoun quhais Counsale and Fidelitie we had befoir dependit, quhais Force aucht and mon manteine oure Authoritie, without quhome in a maner we ar nathing ; (For quhat is a Prince without a Peopill?) befoirhand alreddie zealdded to his apetyte, and swa we left allane as it wer a Pray to him : Mony Thingis we revolved with oure self, bot nevir could find ane Outgait. And zit gaif he ws lytill Space to meditate with oure self, evir pressing ws with continewall and importune Sute."

"In the End, quhen we saw na Esperance to be red of him, nevir Man in *Scotland* anis makand ane Mynt to procure our Deliverance, for that it mycht appeir to be thair Hand writtis and Silence at that Tyme, that he had won thame all, we wer compellit to mitigat our Dis-

pleasour, and began ta think upoun that he propoundit ; and yan wer content to lay befoir oure Eyis the Service he had done in Tymes past, the offer of his Continewance heireftir ; how unwilling oure Peopill ar to ressave a Strangear unacquainted with thair Lawis and Customis, that thai would not suffir ws lang to remane unmareit, that this Realme being devidit in Factionis as it is, cannot be contenit in Ordour, onles oure Autoritie be assistit and furthset be the Fortification of a Man quha mon tak Pane upoun his Persoun in the Executioun of Justice, and suppressing of thair Insolence that wald rebell, the Travell quhairof we may na langer sustene in oure awin Persoun, being alreddie weryit, and almaist brokin with the frequent Uprores and Rebellionis rasit against ws sen we come in *Scotland* ; how we have bene compellit to mak four or fyve Lieutenentis attanis in divers Partis of the Realme, of quhome the maist Part, abusing oure Autoritie, hes, under cullour of oure Commissioun, raisit oure Subjectis within thair Charge aganis oure self : And seing Force wald compell ws in the End, for Preservatioun of oure awin Estait, to inclyne to sum Mariage, and that the Humour of our Peopill wald nocht weill degest a foreyn Husband, and that of oure awin Subjectis thair wes nane, eyther for the Reputatioun of his Hous, or for the Worthines of himself, alsweill in Wisdome, Valzeantnes, as in all uther gude Qualities, to be preferrit, or zit comparit to him quhome we have takin ; we wer content to accomode oure self with the Consent of oure haill Estaittis, quha, as is befoir said, had alreddie declarit thair Contentationis.”

“ Eftir he had be thir Meanis, and mony utheris, brocht ws agaitward to his Intent, he partlie extorted, and partlie obtenit our Promise to tak him to oure Husband : And zit not content thair-with, fearing evir sum Alterationis, he wald nocht be satisfet with all the just Ressounis we could allege to have the consummation of the Mariage delayit, as had been maist ressounabill, quhill we mycht communicat the same to the King, the Quene, oure Uncle, and utheris oure Friendis ; bot as be a Bravade in the Begynning he had win the fyrst Point, sa ceased he nevir till be Persuasionis and importune Sute, accompaneit nottheles with Force, he hes finalie drevin ws to end the Work begun at sic Tyme and in sic Forme as he thocht mycht best serve his Turne, quhairin we cannot dissembill that he hes usit ws utherways than we wald have wyssit, or zit have deservit at his Hand, having mair Respect to content thame by quhais Consent grantit to him befoir hand he thinkis he hes obtenit his Purpois, althoch thairin he had bayth frustrate ws and thame, than regarding oure Contentatioun, or zit weying quhat wes convenient for ws, that hes bene norissed in oure awin Religioun, and nevir intendis to leif the samyne for him or ony Man upoun Earth.”—*The History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, Bishop Keith*, 389, 390, 391.

IV.

ACCOUNT BY DU CROC OF HIS NEGOTIATIONS ON THE MORNING OF THE 15TH OF JUNE 1567.

“ La Roynie et le duc estant advertis, deslogèrent à mesme heure pour venir au-devant d'eux, et trouvant une place à propos ils s'arrestèrent. Les seigneurs les ayans descouvert, estant à demye-lieue près, aussi de leur costé s'arrestèrent ayant un petit ruisseau à passer.

“ Je me trouvois en toutes les peines du monde ; si ne voulluje pas demourer inutile en ma charge : je me pansay que de partir avec les seigneurs ce seroit donner à penser que je me déclarerois de leur costé. Je les laissay aller pour trois heures, et après je les renconray sur le bord du ruisseau n'ayant que dix chevaux avec moy. Ils feirent semblant d'estre fort aise de me voir. Je leur feis entendre la peine en quoi je pouvois estre pour le desplaisir que Votre Majesté recevroit quant elle entendroyt ceste pauvre journée. Je les priois en l'honneur de Dieu qu'ils regardassent si, en votre nom, je pourrois faire quelque service à la Roynie et à eulx aussi. Je leur remonstray, quant qu'il y eust, ils avoient affaire à leur souveraine, et peult-estre, quant Dieu les auroyt tant favorisé que de gagner la bataille, ils seroient en plus grande peine qu'ils ne sont. Ils me dirent qu'ils ne savent que deux poincts pour éviter l'effusion du sang : le premier, si la Roynie se vouloyt tirer à part de ce malheureux qui la tenoit, ils l'iroient recong-

noistre, la servir à genoux et luy demeuroient très humbles et très obéissants subjects et serviteurs; l'autre, si je voulois tant faire pour eulx de luy porter que, si il (Bothwell) vouloit se mettre entre les deux armées, il s'en trouveroit ung qui sortiroient de leur costé et luy soubstiendroient qu'il est vray meurtrier du feu Roy; s'il vouloyt un second, jusqu'à quatre, dix et douze, il s'en trouveroyt. Je leur respondis que de ces deux pointcs je ne parlerois de l'ung ni de l'autre, que je penserois faire grand desplaisir à la Royne; les priant me donner quelque autre expédiant. Ils me dirent qu'ils n'en savoyent point d'autre et qu'ils aymeroyent mieulx s'ensevelir tous une fois que la conduite de la mort du Roy ne feust sceue, estimant que s'ils n'en faisoient leur debvoir que Dieu les en punyroit. Je les priaï me permettre que j'allasse trouver la Royne, que je l'avois tousjours cognue princesse de si grande bonté que peult-estre je trouveroï quelque moyen avec elle. Ils feirent semblant de ne le trouver pas bon; de quoy je me plaignis grandment, et que ce seroit donner à entendre que je me rendrois de leur costé, et protestay devant Dieu et eulx que, si je ne faisois rien avec Sa Majesté, je me rendrois près d'eulx et me retirerois. Après avoir parlé ensemble, Monsieur de Ledington porta la parolle et me dit: que me tenant pour ambassadeur d'ung si grand prince que est Vostre Majesté, à laquelle ils veullent demourer très humbles et affectionés serviteurs, désirant surtout de conserver l'alliance de ce royaume avec le vôtre, que j'avois toute puissance de sortir et rentrer en leur armée, aller vers la Royne et où bon me sembleroyt, et que pour cest effect ils me feroient conduire seurement, Je les remerciay bien fort de la bonne vollunté qu'ils portoient à Votre Majesté, les priant d'y continuer; je leur demanday donc d'aller trouver la Royne. Ils me baillèrent cinquante chevaux, que je menay jusque à leurs coureurs, qui avoient desjà passé le ruisseau, où il pouvoit avoir deux cens chevaux, et huit cens qui les soubstenoient.

"Ainsy que j'approchois l'armée de la Royne, il me vint au-devant le cappitaine Cladre, avec XXV. ou XXX. chevaux qui me menèrent à Sa Majesté; et, après l'avoir salluée, et baisé les mains, je lui feis entendre la peine en quoy la vôtre seroit, et aussi la Royne sa belle-mère, si elle savoyt l'estat en quoy je la voyois; luy remontrant que j'avois parlez aux seigneurs de l'assemblée et leur avois dict ce qui est cydessus escrit, je la suppliay, l'ayant tousjours cognue princesse de si grande bonté, qu'elle pensast et considérast que c'estoyt ses subjects, qu'ils se disoient tels, et très humbles et affectionés serviteurs. Sa Majesté me respondit qu'ils le luy monstroient très mál, allant contre ce qu'ils avoient signés, et que eux-mesmes l'avoient mariée à celluy qu'ils avoyent justifié du fait dont aujourd'hui ils le vouloient accuser; que toutfois, s'ils se vouloient recognoistre et luy demander pardon, elle estoyt preste de leur ouvrir les bras et de les embrasser. Sur ces propos le duc arriva, qui estoyt fort attentif à la conduite de son armée; nous nous salluâmes, mais je ne me présentay point pour l'embrasser. Il me demanda tout hault, affin que son armée l'entendist, d'une parolle fort assurée, si c'estoyt à luy qu'ils en vouloyent. Je lui respondis, puisqu'il le vouloit sçavoir, tout hault, que je venois de parler à eux et qu'ils m'avoient assurés d'estre très humbles subjects et serviteurs de la Royne; et tout bas luy dist qu'ils estoient ses ennemys mortels. Il demanda, parlant tout hault affin que chacun cogneust les assurances qu'il leur avoyt faite, qu'il n'avoyt jamais pensé de faire desplaisir à ung seul, mais au contraire plaisir à tous, et qu'ils n'en pouvoient parler que par envye de sa grandeur; que la fortune estoit libre à qui la pouvoit recevoir, et qu'il n'y en avoyt ung seul d'eux qui n'eust bien voulu tenir sa place; mais puisque ainsi estoit, il me pria, et de fort grande affection, de faire tant pour luy et en l'honneur de Dieu, pour mettre la Royne hors de la peine où il la voyoit, de laquelle il disoit porter une peine extrême, et aussi pour éviter l'effusion du sang, que je prins la peine de dire aux autres que, s'il y en avoyt aulcun d'eulx qui voullût sortir hors de la troupe et se mettre entre les deux armées, encore qu'il eust ceste honneur que d'avoir espousé la Royne, pourveu qu'il fust homme de quallité, il le combattroyt, affirmant sa cause si juste qu'il s'asseuroyt avoir Dieu pour luy. Je ne le voullu accepter de luy, non plus que des autres, aussi que la Royne dist qu'elle ne l'endurera pas, et qu'elle espousoit ceste querelle avecque lui; et enfin mon propos estoyt tousjours que je m'estimerois bien heureux si, au nom de Vostre Majesté, je pouvois faire service à la Royne et aux deux armées. Il me dist qu'il ne falloyt donc plus parler, pour ce qu'il voyoit ses ennemys qui s'approchoient et avoient desjà passé le ruisseau, que si je voulois ressembler à celluy qui moyennoit une paix et amytié entre les deux armées de Scipion et d'Annibal, ayant leurs deux armées prest à se joindre comme des deux icy, ne

pouvant rien faire, il ne se voullust rendre partial d'ung costé ni d'autre, il print une place pour juger, et au partir il eust autre veue, le plus grand passe-temps qu'il vist jamais; et que si je voullois faire le semblable, je n'auroiz jamais tant de plaisir, mais que au contraire je n'aurois jamais veu chose qui m'enuyast tant que ce que je voyois. Il fault que je dise que je vis ung grand cappitaine parler de grande assurance et qui conduisoit son armée gaillardement et sagement. Je m'y amusai assez long temps et jugeois qu'il auroyt du meilleur, si ses gens luy estoient fidelles. Je le louois de ce qu'il voyoit ces enemys résollu et ne se pouvoyt asseurer de la moytié des siens, et toutefois il ne s'estonna point. Son armée estoit de quatre mil hommes; il avoyt trois pièces de campagne, les ennemys n'en avoyent point et ne pouvoient estre plus de trois mil cinq cens hommes au plus; les deux armées faisoient nombre de huit mil hommes. Il n'avoyt ung seul seigneur de nom; sy aussi l'estimois beaucoup qu'il commandoit tout seul, et je faisois doute des autres pour (ce) qu'ils estoient plusieurs testes, et y avoit une grande cryerie parmi eulx. Je pris congé de la Royne avec extrême regret, la laissant la larme à l'œil, et allay trouver les autres pour veoir si je pouvois rien faire; et leur remonstray que j'avois trouvez la Royne pleine de bonté, qu'elle m'avoyt dist que, s'ils se voullioient recognoistre, que Sa Majesté leur ouvreroit les bras. Ils me dirent résolument qu'ils ne parleroyent jamais d'appointement s'ils n'avoyent celluy qu'ils demandoient, et prirent pour raison que ce parlement leur porteroit dommage, pourquoy misrent tous leur morion en la main et me prièrent en l'honneur de Dieu de me retirer en me remerciant de ce que j'en avois fait: et je me retiray."—*Recueil des Lettres de Marie Stuart, Prince Labanoff*, VII., 115-120.

V.

CONSPIRACY OF THE NOBLES AGAINST MARY.

I HERE give the various phases of the Conspiracy in favour of Moray, and also the names of the titled conspirators, so that the reader may the more easily understand the parts played by the leaders of the nobility.

Proposed a Divorce at Craigmillar— Conventicle at Dunkeld—

Lethington.	Argyll.	Moray.	Caithness.
Moray.	Bothwell.	Morton.	Athole.
		Lindsay.	

Conventicle at Whittingham—

Lethington.	Morton.
Bothwell.	Archibald Douglas.

Subscribers of the Bond of Ainslie—

Moray. ¹	Caithness.
Morton.	Boyd.
Argyll.	Seton.
Huntly.	Oliphant.
Cassillis.	Semple.
Sutherland.	Ross.
Roths.	Herries.
Glencairn.	Hume.
Sinclair.	etc.

Compromised in the Murder—

Bothwell.	Huntly.
Lethington.	Lindsay.
Archibald Douglas.	Caithness.
Argyll.	Ruthven.
Morton.	Balfour, etc.

¹ "Read," says the learned M. Wiesener, "Read, the worthy acolyte of Buchanan, did not take the trouble to verify the names, for he erroneously places at the head of the list Moray, who, since the 9th April, had left for France. That

error is characteristic; if it proceeded from the pen of a giddy-head, it is because that giddy-head knew perfectly well that the agent of all the machine was the Earl of Moray."—323, note 2.

Acquitted Bothwell—

Morton.	J. Hamilton of Ar-
Argyll.	Ross. [broath.
R. Pitcairn.	Semple.
Lindsay.	Herries.
J. M'Gill.	Oliphant.
H. Balnaves.	Forbes.
Roths.	J. Gordon of Loch-•
Caithness.	L. Boyd. [invar.
Cassillis.	Ogilvie, etc.

Were in the pay of England—

Morton.	Ruthven.
Angus.	Lindsay.
Athole.	Boyd.
Argyll.	Herries.
Montrose.	M'Gill.
Roths.	Buchanan.
Glencairn.	etc.

Fought at Carberry Hill against Mary—

Athole.	Hume.
Glencairn.	Lindsay.
Morton.	Semple.
Mar.	Ruthven.
Kirkaldy.	Sinclair, etc.

Appeared later in Mary Stuart's party—

Lethington.	Kirkaldy.
Argyll.	J. Balfour.
Huntly.	Roths.
Herries.	Ogilvie.
Cassillis.	Sinclair.
Athole.	Seton.
	Hume.

Accused Mary at Westminster—

Moray.	M'Gill, and
Morton,	Balnaves,
the murderer of Darnley,	who, leagued with Lindsay,
and Bothwell's advocate.	had acquitted Bothwell.
Bishop of Orkney,	Lethington,
who had performed the marriage.	who had proposed the divorce
	and prepared the murder.
Lindsay,	Buchanan,
Darnley's murderer, and a	the pamphleteer.
conspirator at Dunkeld.	
R. Pitcairn.	

Died on the scaffold, convicted of having taken part in the King's murder—

Morton,
the author of all the conspiracies.

VI.

INTEREST TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH CABINET IN THE DEFAMATION OF MARY STUART IN THE "DETECTION."

On the 20th of October 1568, Knollys wrote to Cecil:—

"All thyngs consydered, I see not howe hyr Majestie can with honor and safetie detaine this Queene, unles she shall be utterlye disgraced to the worlde, and that contrarie partie be thorolye mayntayned."—*Knollys to Cecil, 20th October 1568, Goodall.*

In October 1571 Cecil sends to France,

"divers of Buchanan's little latin books to present, if need be, to the King, and likewise to some of the other noblemen of his Council; for they will serve to good effect to disgrace her; which must be done, before other purposes can be attained."—*Cecil to Walsingham, 1st November 1571, Digges.*

The work was badly received in Paris, and the King ordered his ambassador to complain to Elizabeth—

"En ce qu'elle a dernièrement permis estre imprimé ce livre duquel l'intitulation seulle est si honteuse et tant au deshonneur de ma dicte belle-sœur que, gardant le respect et honnesteté

qui doit estre entre tous princes et princesses, elle ne pouvoit jamais souffrir avec raison le dict livre estre mis en lumière quelque inimitié qu'elle luy porte."—*Charles IX. to la Mothe Fénelon, Correspondance diplomatique.*

The ambassador complained, but instead of getting the work suppressed, he saw, to his sorrow, a new edition largely distributed.

"They have set out in England," wrote Alexander Hay to John Knox, "our Quene's lyfe and process, baith in Latin and English, quhairin is contenit the discourse of hir tragical doings, the process of the Erle Bothwell's clenging, hir sonnetis and letteris to him, the depositions of the persounis execute, and cartellis efter the King's murthour. In appeirance thay leive nothing unset out tending to hir infamie."—*Alexander Hay to John Knox, 14th December 1571, Goodall.*

Again entreated, Elizabeth merely replied that it was impossible to forbid such a work.

"Dize que en Inglaterra se ha imprimido un libello diffamatorio contra la de Escocia ; y que haviendo la Reyna madre, à instancia deste embaxador, escripto á la de Inglaterra que los defendiesse y hiziesse recoger los que se havian vendido, he ha respondido rasamente que no queria : y que cada dia inventan cosas nuevas contra la dicha de Escocia para justificarse con su pueblo la de Inglaterra del aprieto en que la tiene, y escusarse con estos de la palabra y promessa que les tiene dada de ponerla en libertad."—*Aguilon to Philip II., 29th December 1571, Teulet.*

Buchanan was rewarded for his masterpieces with an annuity of £100 from the English Treasury, and Bailly was put into prison for having brought into England the refutation of those calumnies.

VII.

DEATH OF LETHINGTON.

Melville, Craufurd, Calderwood, and Spottiswoode think that Lethington, foreseeing an ignominious death, avoided it by poisoning himself, and the most of the cotemporary authors are of that opinion ; almost all suspect poison. The question is whether Lethington took it himself or had it given him by Morton, lest that accomplice should, on his way to the gallows, reveal important secrets.

Here we can only conjecture, as we have no direct proofs. Mary Stuart, however, in a letter to Elizabeth, accused the lords of having poisoned Lethington (*Blackwood*, 642) ; and his widow wrote to Cecil, asking that the body should be respected, so strongly persuaded was she that his death was an execution (*Chalmers*, III., 615). Killigrew, in his letter of the 12th of June, speaks of poison, but does not tell us whether it was Morton, or some other one, who administered it.

If the documents do not fully prove that Lethington was poisoned

by another, the conduct of the nobles leaves scarcely any doubt on the subject. The body was buried hurriedly.

"I have been pressed," wrote Drury to Cecil, "by the Earl of Athole and others, that the body of Lidington might be buried, and not remain above the earth, as it does."—*Drury's Letter to Burghley, 18th June 1573, Chalmers.*

The funeral rites were performed so hastily that the people were frightened, and believed in a contagious disease.

"Upoun the nynt day of Junij, Schir Williame Maitland youngar of Leithingtoun, sumtyme secretar, depairtit at the plessour of God in Leith, and incontinent, without any moir, wes laid in leid in the bedhous of Leith ; bot within few dayes na man durst com neir for evill fair."—*Diurnal of Occurrents, 334.*

The mystery which shrouded that death, the haste with which the body was got rid of, the widow's letter, and Mary Stuart's accusation, are certainly not without some value. My conviction is that Lethington was poisoned by Morton's orders, and that he and Mar and Athole were victims. I do not, however, mean to impose my opinion on the reader ; he may assert the contrary, though with fewer proofs and still less likelihood.

VIII.

THE WILL OF BOTHWELL.

The obstinacy with which several historians persist in throwing aside the Will of Bothwell, or at least in underrating its importance, obliges me to lay before the reader the various proofs upon which I rest to maintain its authenticity.

I shall in the first place grant, to my adversaries, that the original text is lost, and that it has been impossible for me to discover in France or in England anything which can take its place in an absolute manner ; but in the absence of the original, or of a certified copy, we have two extracts which so perfectly agree as to the names of the witnesses and the Queen's innocence, that it is impossible to help seeing in them the summary of the same document. They, again, are so different in the details, that it is impossible to admit that they spring from the same source. Whence, I conclude, *à priori*, that there has existed an authentic will of Bothwell which has served for the two extracts, or that two forgers, without having any understanding together, have imagined one, each on his own side, and that they have agreed on the essential points, which would be most wonderful.

Here are, in juxtaposition, the two summaries such as they are

published by the archivist Teulet. The first has been printed by Bishop Keith from a copy of the sixteenth century; the second is published from the two versions in the British Museum :—

ANALYSIS REPRODUCED BY BISHOP KEITH.

“Le Comte de Bothuel, malade à l'extrémité, au château de Malmay, a vérifié ce qui suit :

“L'évesque de Scone, avec quatre grands seigneurs, à sçavoir : les seigneurs Berin Goves, du château de Malmay ; Otto Braw, du château d'Ottenbrocht ; Paris Braw, du château de Vescut, et Mr Gullunstarne, du château de Fulcenstrie, avec les quatre baillifs de la ville prièrent ledict Comte de déclarer librement ce qu'il sçavoit de la mort du feu roy Henry (Darnley) et des auteurs d'icelle, comme il vouloit répondre devant Dieu au jour du jugement, là où toutes choses, tant cachées soient-elles, seront manifestées.

“Alors le comte remontrant, pour sa grande foiblesse qui le détenoit, qu'il ne pouvoit discourir tout ce qu'il en sçavoit par lui-même, affirma la Reine innocente de la dicte mort ; lui seul, ses parents et quelque noblesse, auteurs d'icelle.

“Estant de rechef prié des dicts seigneurs de déclarer quelques-uns, nomma my lord Jacques, comte de Murray ; my lord Robert, abbé de Sainte-Croix (maintenant comte des isles Orcades), tous deux frères bastards de la Reine ; les comtes Argueil, Crawford, Glencarn, Morton, my lord Boyd, les barons de Ledington, Buccleugh et Grange.

“Poursuit après, comme par enchantement auquel, dès sa jeunesse, à Paris et ailleurs, il s'estoit beaucoup addonné, il avoit tiré la Royne à l'aymer, soy dépestrant de sa femme.

“Le mariage consommé, cherchoit tout moyen à faire mourir le petit prince, et toute la noblesse qui n'y vouloit entendre.

“Après comme (il) avoit débauché deux filles d'un grand seigneur de Danemarque, les menant en Escosse, et deux autres d'un grand seigneur de la ville de Lubecque, s'ouls ombre de mariage avec leurs filles, et tant d'autres filles nobles, tant en France que Danemarque, Angleterre et Escosse ; demandant pardon à Dieu, recepvant son corps, estant atténué mourut.

COPY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

“The confession of my lord Bothwell before y dyed, in presence of dyvers lords of Denmarke, being maire lang in latin and danisk.

The lords present weare these: baron Goves of Malmye castle, Otto Brawe of Elsinbronche castell, Monsieur Gullionestarne of Fowltoستie castell, the Bishop of Skone and four Baylies of the towne; who desired him that he would declare his conscience and say nothings by the truth, concernand the Kinge and Queene of Scotland with the child.

“In primis, he did take it upon his death, that the Queene never knew nor consented to the death of the Kinge, but he and his friends by his appointment, dyvers lords consenting and subscribing thereunto; whilk yet was not there present at the deed dooinge.

“There names be: lord James earl of Murray, lord Morton, lord Robert, the bishop of Saint-Andrews, with dyvers others whome he sayd he could not remember at that present.

“Lykewise he sayd that all the friendship which he had of the Queene, he gatt alwayes by witchcraft, and the inventions belanging thereunto, specially by use of sweete water, and that he found means to put away his owen wife, to obteyne the Queen.

“Lykewise he confessed that he had so deceived dyvers gentilwomen in France and in England, with many other wyld facts, and deeds, whilk he sayd weare lange to rehearse; asking God forgeveness thereof. Farther more, he confessed that he tooke tway lordes daughters out of Denmarke into Scotland, and made them beleve he would marry them, and dyd deflower theym of theyr virginities, and likewise many gentilwomen of Scotland.

“Item, he did confess that he had deceived

tway of the burgmaster's daughters of Lubeck, with many lyke, whilk he sayd were lang to rehearse ; and forgave all the world, and was sorrowfull for his offences ; and did receive the sacrament, that all the things he speake weare trew. And so he dyed."

"Tout cecy, plus à plein, a esté escrit en latin et danois, signé du scel du Roy de Danemark et des assistants susnommez, et viendra quelque jour en lumière pour avérer l'innocence de la Reine d'Ecosse.

"L'adjointe copie ayant esté donnée par un marchand digne de foy, assistant alors à la dernière attestation du dict comte."

Against the authenticity of the will, Teulet alleges two reasons. The first is : that the French version proceeds from a tradesman, and that "it is impossible to believe that a common tradesman was allowed to be present at the last moments and last confessions of a State prisoner so important as was Bothwell ;" the second is : "what Bothwell is made to say regarding the supernatural means which he had made use of to seduce the Queen."

To the first reason, I answer that there is no proof that the tradesman was, as the eminent archivist calls him, a "*simple marchand*." He, like so many others of his colleagues since the formation of the Hanseatic league and the extension of maritime commerce, may have been extremely rich, and, on that account, have discharged the duties of bailie at Malmoë. The last words of the extract, "*l'adjointe copie ayant esté donnée par un marchand digne de foy, assistant alors à la dernière attestation du dict Comte*," even lead one to understand it so, seeing that no one, except the lords named and the four bailies, was present at Bothwell's last moments, and that it would have been impossible to make such a mistake within a space of a few lines. That fact is most apparent. Besides, that objection can apply only to the French copy, for the two English extracts are free from it.

I confess the spells and witchcraft are inadmissible, though public opinion admitted them in the sixteenth century. Bothwell may have tried superstitious practices, and he was accused of witchcraft by the Scottish lords, by their ambassador in Denmark, and even by the French ambassador. It is impossible then to make that objection, without criticizing all those who have spoken of Bothwell, and the whole sixteenth century.

To enable the reader to form an opinion on that subject, I am about to lay before him all that Mary's correspondence and the documents

of the time relate regarding that will. I have already quoted several passages in my text. The reader will then kindly pardon me if I reproduce them here, on account of the great importance attaching to that declaration.

“On m’a donné avis,” wrote the Queen of Scots to her ambassador on the 1st of June 1576, “de la mort du Comte de Bothwel, et que, avant son décez, il fist une ample confession de ses fautes, et se déclara auteur et coupable de l’assassinat du feu Roy mon mary, dont il me descharges bien expressément, jurant sur la damnation de son âme pour mon innocence ; et d’autant que, s’il estoit ainsi, ce tesmoignage m’importeroit de beaucoup contre les faulx calomnies de mes ennemys, je vous prie d’en rechercher la vérité par quelque moyen que ce soit. Ceulx qui assistèrent à la dicte déclaration, depuis par eulx signée et sellée, en forme de testament, sont Otto Braw du chasteau d’Elcembro, Paris Braw du chasteau de Vascut, Mons. Gallunstarne du chasteau de Fulkenster, l’évesque de Skonen, et quatre baillifz de la ville. Si de Monceaux, qui a aultrefois négocié en ce pays là, y voudroit faire un voyage pour s’en enquérir plus particulièrement, et en rapporter les attestations, je serois bien aise de l’y employer, et luy faire donner de l’argent pour son voyage.”—*Keith and Prince Labanoff*.

I must here notice a point, till now neglected by the apologists of Queen Mary, which is, in my opinion, of immense importance. Mary Stuart’s letter, written in cipher, was classed in Vol. IX. of the *Memoirs of the Scottish College in Paris*. The extract made by the historian Keith referred to p. 143 ; now, the abridgment of Bothwell’s will was at p. 145. It was then annexed immediately to Mary’s letter, as an answer to that same letter, and as a valid document. It suffices to peruse Bishop Keith’s History, and compare his extracts with the originals, to be convinced that the Scottish *Memoirs* were a collection as regular as the best kept collection of Archives. No faulty document or error of transcription is to be found.

On the 30th of July, the Archbishop of Glasgow answers her :—

“Il y a desjà longtemps que nous avons entendu les nouvelles de la mort du Comte de Bothuel ; et dès ce temps, la Reine-Mère a escrit (ainsi que M. de Lansac m’assure) à l’Ambassadeur du Roy en Danemarq, pour envoyer le testament en forme : ce qu’il n’a encore fait. Je trouverois bon d’y envoyer de Monceaux qui entreprendroit volontiers le voyage ; mais vous voyez le peu de puissance que j’ay de luy delivrer de l’argent.”—*Keith*.

Mary writes to him anew on the 6th of January 1577 :—

“J’ay eu avis que le Roy de Danemarque a envoyé à cette Reine (Elisabeth) le testament du feu Comte de Bothuel, et qu’elle l’a supprimé secrètement, le plus qu’il luy a été possible. Il me semble que le voiage de Monceaux n’est nécessaire pour ce regard, puisque la Reine-Mère y a envoyé, comme vous me mandez.”—*Keith and Prince Labanoff*.

Two days previously, the Archbishop of Glasgow wrote to Mary :—

“Gartely (Barclay) dès son arrivée en Escosse fut fait prisonnier, parce qu’il divulgua ce qu’il avoit entendu à Londres, du testament du feu Comte de Bothuel ; et, à ce que l’on dit, a esté contraint d’envoyer un homme en Danemarq pour la vérification d’iceluy. Monceaux n’a voulu entreprendre le voiage sans avoir argent contant. Les 500 livres qu’il a reçu par votre libéralité, avoient esté dépendus, à ce qu’il dit, avant qu’ils étoient receus.

“ Sur ce propos, je ne veux oublier à vous dire ce qui m’a esté rapporté par un gentilhomme, qui m’a dit l’avoir entendu du Controlleur Tullibairn, qui estoit dans la chambre de Monseigneur le Prince (Jacques VI.) votre fils, à Sterlyng ; ayant le dit Tullibairn entre ses mains la copie du dit testament, en le lisant à un autre gentilhomme, mon dit Seigneur vint à l’improviste les acoster de la table où il escrivoit, et a force voulu voir ce que le dit Tullibairn tenoit entre ses mains, encore qu’il luy refusa deux ou trois fois. Et l’ayant leu de mot à mot, sans leur dire aucune paroles, le leur remit entre les mains. Et après avoir achevé ce qu’il avoit à escrire, il se mit plus guay que de coutume, a entretenir les gentilhommes qui estoient a l’entour de luy ; ce qu’il continua toute cette après dinée, à son souper et après souper : ce qui rendit toute l’assistance curieux de sçavoir l’occasion. Ensorte que ledict Tullibairn luy demanda après souper, en luy disant, qu’il l’avoit tousjours aimé et honoré, mais à cette heure-là, plus que jaimais, le voyant si gaillard et disposé, avec un si bon visage, entretenir les Seigneurs qui le visitoient. Il luy respondit, Tullibairn, n’ay-je pas juste occasion, m’ayant été imprimé si souvent et de si long temps, les accusations et les calomnies de la Majesté de la Reine ma mère, de ce que aujourd’huy j’ay vû une si ouverte approbation de son innocence ?”—*Keith*.

The will was then acquiring a certain publicity.

Blackwood, in his “*Martyre de Marie Stuart*,” published eleven years after, says :—

“ Bothwell décéda, ayant auparavant confessé sa faute, et demandé pardon à Dieu avec vn tres-aspre remors de cōscience, en despitant et blasmant grandement sa perfidie, et les auteurs d’icelle, lesquels il déclara par noms et surnoms à l’Euesque et autres Seigneurs de Dannemarc, qui assistèrent à sa mort, et furent tesmoins de ses derniers propos. Par lesquels il deschargea la Roynne sa Maistresse entièrement du crime à elle imposé par ceux mesmes qui l’auoient commis et perpetré, appellant Dieu à tesmoin de son dire, qui ne contenoit autre chose que la narration de l’homicide par luy executé, de son mariage avec sa Maistresse, et de la façon comme il y auoit procedé par le conseil et aduis de Murray, Morton, et leurs adherants, comme cy-dessus a esté deduit, lesquels propos ayant esté fidellement recueillis de la bouche de Bodwel, et raportez au Roy de Dannemarc, furent de puis enuoyez à plusieurs Princes Chrestiens, et nommément à la Roynne Elizabeth.”

Eytzinger, a cotemporary historian, copied by the author of “*Maria Stuarta Innocens*,” in Jebb, writes :—

“ Bothuellium etiam in mortis articulo rex Daniæ aggressus, per Dei paulo post futuri judicis obtestationem, petit ut liberam jam vocem emitteret, indicem innocentie aut sceleris reginæ Mariæ futuram, post multum variumque sermonem de multâ variâque re quem cum rege habuit, liberâ altâque voce ita sibi Deum propitium precabatur, ut regina cædis Darlœanæ nec conscia nec prescia. Regi de percussore quærenti pergere : Murravius spurius, inquit, orsus est, Murtonius duxit, ego cædis hujus telam pertexui. Literas reliquit scriptas, mediumque perscriptum, locum notatum, fidem datam, alias res indices cædis et authorem.”—74.

Those various testimonies are confirmed by a legend of the sixteenth century, which I have quoted in the course of the work, and which was quoted by Camden also.

But what proves that, in the sixteenth century, Bothwell’s will did not give rise to the doubts which it awakens now-a-days is that the document was the first presented to Morton at the time of his trial.

“ The first is the Lorde Bothwell’s testament.”—*Letter from Forster to Walsingham, Chalmers*, II., 419.

That is the juridical proof of the existence and authenticity of the will, and the tone in which Forster speaks of it, shows that Walsingham knew all about it.

“One of these documents, probably that sent to Elizabeth, was,” says Miss Strickland, “extant as recently as the middle of the last century, in the royal library in St James’ Palace, as Mr Hamilton affirms in his ‘Observations on Buchanan,’ and he makes a quotation from it which indicates that he had seen it. Its disappearance may easily be accounted for, by the confusion caused by the vile and neglected state in which the MSS. were so long allowed to lie in the cellars of Old Harrington House.”—*Miss Strickland’s Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, V., 248, *note*.

The reader can now, with full knowledge of the facts, easily form an opinion.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

